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AMATORY POEMS FROM NAṚṚINAI

BY K. G. SESHA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

OF the well-known *Eṭṭut-tokai* or eight collections of Śangam works, I have, in previous articles contributed to this Journal, explained that five deal with *Agam* or love and domestic life. Of these five, I have already given an account of two collections, *Kalit-tokai* and *Kuṛun-tokai*, with translations of several poems from each of them as illustration of Tamil amatory poetry of the Śangam age. In this article I give illustrations from another well-known collection, *Naṛṛinai*, which is also devoted to *Agam*. It is a collection of 400 lyrics by 175 poets, of whom some are of the fair sex. Like the lyrics of *Kuṛun-tokai*, the poems in *Naṛṛinai* are also short, none of them being longer than 12 lines of *agaval* verse. Like other Śangam poems, they are finished gems, and are prized by lovers of Tamil literature as among their most precious possessions. Among those who have contributed to this collection, we find almost all the most famous names known in early Śangam poetry; and it is worthy of remark that some of the ladies whose poems are enshrined in *Naṛṛinai* do not appear to have made contribution to other Śangam collections. Poems

relating to all the five *tiṇais*, *pālai*, *kuṛinji*, *mullai*, *marutam* and *neytal* are included in *Naṛṛinai*; and in this respect the work resembles *Kuṛun-tokai* and *Aganānūṛu*. An excellent edition of *Naṛṛinai* with a scholarly commentary has been brought out by the late Pandit Narayanaswami Aiyar of Pinnatur, who has also written and left unpublished a commentary on *Aganānūṛu* or a major portion of it, as I note from his biographical sketch prefixed to his edition of *Naṛṛinai*; and it would be an invaluable boon if that commentary could be published, for *Aganānūṛu* cannot be easily understood without a full, elucidating annotation.

I have given below English echoes of a dozen poems from *Naṛṛinai*. Of these, four illustrate *kuṛinji*, and for each of the other four *tiṇais*, I have given two illustrative poems. Seven of the singers I have chosen are women. The first of the poems translated, lyric No. 4 of *Naṛṛinai*, is by Ammūvanār. The name of the poet is really Mūvanār, *am* being a prefix. He has sung of Toṇḍi and Māntai, and from this, Pandit Narayanaswami Aiyar suggests that perhaps he was a native of the Cēra Kingdom. There are 127 poems of his now extant, and of these all except one, *Agam* 35, relate to *neytal tiṇai*. It may be noted that he is the author of the *neytal* section of 100 lyrics in *Aiñ-Kuṛunūṛu*, one of the *Eṭṭut-tokai* collections. According to the learned editor of *Naṛṛinai*, he is one of the greatest of the Śangam poets. The next poem I have given is No. 7 of *Naṛṛinai*, and it relates to *Pālai-tiṇai*. It is by a lady, Nal-Veḷḷiyār by name, who is said to have belonged to Madura; but we have really no information about her. There are four lyrics by her now extant. The next poem I have given is No. 21 of *Naṛṛinai* and it relates to *mullai-tiṇai*. It is by Marutam Iḷanākanār of Madura. He is a well-known Śangam poet, and is the author of *Marutak-kali* in *Kalit-tokai*. His poems are also found in large numbers in *Aganānūṛu* and *Puṛanānūṛu*. He refers to Nallantuvanar's VIII *Paripāḍal* about Tiruparan-kunṛam, in *Agam* 59, and is the author of *puṛam* 55, addressed to the Pāndya Nan Māṛan, who died at Ilavantipaḷḷi, where occur the well-known lines

beginning with அறநெறி முதற்றே யரசின் கொற்றம். The next poem is No. 69 of *Naṟṟinai* which also relates to *mullai*. It is by Cēkampūtanār or Cēntampūtanār, of whom nothing is known. There are 7 poems of his found in the collections. *Naṟṟinai* 70 is by a lady, Veḻḻivītiyār. Pandit Narayanaswami Aiyar guesses from her name that she was a native of Madura; if so, it is rather strange that while her poems refer to events in the Cēra and the Cōla Kingdoms, they do not refer to any occurrence in the Pāṇḍya Kingdom. Her domestic life seems to have been unhappy; and for some reason or other, her husband seems to have abandoned her. In *Agam* 147, Auvai refers with great sympathy to Veḻḻivītiyār's search for her husband, who had deserted her; and indeed all the poems of Veḻḻivītiyār are reminiscent of this tragedy in her domestic life. In *Agam* 45, she pathetically expresses her fear that perhaps, she is destined to wander about in search of her husband like Āti-Manti, another tragic figure in Śangam literature. In *Naṟṟinai* 70 here translated, she pours out from her heart that hungers for love a message which she entreats a flight of cranes to carry to her absent husband. Perhaps, that is the earliest *sandesam* message-poem in Tamil. It relates to *marutam*. *Naṟṟinai* 75, the next poem translated, relates to *kuṟinji*; and it is by Māmūlanār, one of the best known of the Śangam poets. He was a Brahmana, and according to the well-known commentator Naccinārkkiniyār, he was a great seer. His poems are of great value to students of Śangam history, as they abound in historical allusions. There are as many as 27 poems of his in *Aganānūṟu*, all relating to *pālai-tiṇai* and there are altogether 30 poems of his now extant. The next, No. 129 of *Naṟṟinai*, also relates to *kuṟinji* and is by Auvai, a well-known poetess of the Śangam era. She was, according to herself, a விறலி or singer (*puṟam* 89), and was a staunch friend of Atiyamān Neḍumān Añci, a well-known chief of the Śangam period, whose praise she delighted to sing (*puṟam* 87-99). She has also sung about Añci's son Eḻini, Pāri, the well-known literary Mæcenas of the Śangam age, Toṇḍaimān, Nannan, Ugraperuvaḻuti, Cēramān Ma Ven

Ko, Rājasūyamvēṭṭa Peru Nar Kiḷḷi and others. This Auvai is different from the author of the apophthegms Attiśūṭi, and *Konrai-vēntan*, and the didactic poems *Mūturai* and *Nalvaḻi*, which belong to a much later date. *Naṟṟinai* 232 is by a lady called Muṟu Veñ Kaṇṇanār; and it also relates to *kuṟinji*. Nothing is known about her; and there are only two poems by her now in existence. *Naṟṟinai* 243 is by another lady, Kāma Kaṇṇi Paśalaiyār of Madura, of whom again we have no information. The poem translated here is one of the two poems by her that are now extant, and it relates to *pālai-tiṇai*. *Naṟṟinai* 250 is also by a lady, Ōlai Kaḍaiyattār Nal Veḷḷaiyār of Madura, and it relates to *marutam*. Nothing is known about her; and there are only two lyrics by her in existence. She is apparently different from the author of *Naṟṟinai* 7, who has already been noticed; but one cannot be sure. *Naṟṟinai* 304 is again by another lady, Maṟōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār, and it relates to *kuṟinji*. She has sung of Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan who died at Kuḷa-muṟṟam (*puṟam* 37, 39, 226) and praises the well-known Śangam poet Kapilar (*puṟam* 126, 174). There are nine poems of hers now extant. She is different from Kāma Kaṇṇi Paśalaiyār, the author of *Naṟṟinai* 243 whom we have already noticed. *Naṟṟinai* 335 is by Veḷḷivītiyār of whom we have already read; and it relates to *neytal*.

Naṟṟinai 4—Neytal-Tiṇai

Lo! there appears the lord of th' coastal tract
Where live in cottages the fisherfolk
Who, ere they leave for the wide sea, unwind
Their twisted nets and spread them out to dry
Beneath the cool, green, spreading *punnai* trees.
If he be told that should thy mother hear
Of your clandestine meetings, they would soon
Become impossible, will he not claim
Before thy kith and kin thy hand and lead
Thee to his residence, beyond the sand
Where after toiling carts of merchandise
Of white and rock-hard salt, the traders walk,

Disturbing by their shouts the way-side herds
And fright'ning strong, black-footed storks that wait
By the large pools of water near their path?

Ammūvanār

Naṟṟiṇai 7—Pālai-Tiṇai

In the sweet-scented forest on th' slopes of the hill
Where the small leaves of sandal-wood trees are now dry,
And where sleep elephants with shrunk fore-heads which feed
On the rice of the bamboo, the ponds will be soon
Filled with water; the cataracts roaring will fall
Down the bamboo-grown slopes of the mountain anon;
And the streams will rush soon to the plains and displace
The boulders that impede their impetuous flow.
For, behold! there is thunder and lightning! Betimes
Thy husband will come ere the impending rains.

Nal-Veḷḷiyār

Naṟṟiṇai 21—Mullai-Tiṇai

Fast have we drove! Our retinue lag far
Behind! Unable us to overtake,
Their girths they have relaxed and rest awhile.
Let them their own time take to come. Urge on
The steeds with goads of thorn and speed the car
Still more. Dost thou not see the wild cock strong,
Spotted and beautiful, with cackle harsh,
And sputtering as when on boiling *ghi*
Is sprinkled milk, with vigour digs the sand,
Made wet by rain in this extensive tract,
For grub, and turns in triumph to its mate?

Marutam Iḷanākanār

Naṟṟiṇai 69—Mullai-Tiṇai

His diurnal duty done, the sun has set
Behind the mountain high in distant west.
Birds have to their young ones left in their nests
Returned, and black-maned stags their hinds have joined
In forests. Jessamine is in full bloom,

And gloriosa flowers shine in lanes
Like lighted lamps. The tinkling soft of bells
Tied round the necks of kine harmonious joins
With the sweet music shepherds carrying crooks
Produce from reeds. If but this evening
As cruel prove where my dear spouse has gone
As it is here, he will give up the work
That took him and immediate return.

Cēkampūtanār

Naṟṟinai 70—Maruta-Tiṇai

Ye flight of white-winged cranes, with hearts as pure,
Whose shining feathers flout the dhobies' art:
Who feed on fish my village pond supplies,
Whence after bath we daily carry home
For household use fresh water! If ye go
To where my lover lives, the village fair
Whose streams discharge themselves into this pond—
And ye will not forget, but sure will go
For love of me?—convey to him my grief
Which so has wasted me that from my limbs
My bracelets and my anklets slip away.

Veḷḷivītiyār

Naṟṟinai 75—Kuṟinji-Tiṇai

Thy apathy is cruel! Be not thou
Like the bright-spotted and broad-hooded snake
Which, venomous, fire-like destructive, bites
Its victim, tortures, kills without remorse!
This coldness suits thee ill! Thy person, decked
With jewels, hath the tint of arrows sharp
Of mountaineers which have the tusked boar pierced.
Thine eyes without compassion me alone
Regard. My heart is tortured. O! Relent;
Slight me not thus, but help me yet to live!

Māmūlanār

Naṟṟinai 129—Kuṟinji-Tiṇai

What irony is this! If for a day
Thy lover leave thee, thou wilt be upset;
E'en that short separation thou wilt feel!

But now, my lady with such beauteous hair!
They say on business he goes for long
Leaving us here to live till his return!
They say, in midnight darkness in our house
All by ourselves we must perforce remain
In disregard of rain and thunder loud,
That force e'en snakes hang down their hooded heads
With fear! Alas! What cruel jest is this?

Auvai

Naṟṟinai 232—Kuṟinji-Tiṇai

The verdure by the tarns despising,
And plantains wild profusely grown,
Small-eyed and long-trunked elephants
In pairs force through the thorny fence
Of bamboos, to the neat-herds causing
Fear and amazement, and they feed
On the ripe fruits of the honey jack
Which at the foot is tinted red!
If thou, O Lord of the mountains! stayest
But for this night in my parent's place,
Where blooming *Vengai* spreads, I pray thee
As token leave with me thy wreath!

Muṟu Venkaṇṇanār.

Naṟṟinai 243—Pālai-Tiṇai

In the groves on the banks of sand 'mong the rills
Running down the hills, rich in honey, where mangoes
Grow laden with fruit, black-eyed *Koils* seem to sing:
Leave not your beloved,
O ye wise! beware!
'Tis an idle pretext,
Seeking wealth, inconstant,
Treach'rous like the dice!
Keep at home! Your spouses
Wait for your embrace!
If e'en in times when separation brings
Much pain, men say their duty is to go
Abroad for wealth, let me but ask: Is wealth

So much more precious than the due discharge
Of men's sworn duty of protecting those
Who do depend on them? If so, 'tis strange!

Kāma Kaṇṇi Paśalaiyār

Naṟṟinai 250—Maruta Tiṇai

How strange! My wife I with desire approached;
My lisping child which with a go-cart played,
With anklets tinkling on its feet, outside,
On my broad breast with sandal smeared I bore;
And on the paste saliva from his mouth
Red like the lotus, ran. And she, my own
Beloved, with fair forehead crescent-shaped,
With hair both black and fragrant, me mistook
And turned away, in fright e'en like a deer,
And cried: 'Who art thou wouldst me thus approach?'

Ōlai Kaḍaiyattār Nal Veḷḷaiyār

Naṟṟinai 304—Kuṟinji-Tiṇai

My beauty grows when he by me remains,
The lord of hills, where swarms of parrots steal
And feed on growing ears of fragrant maize,
Swoop down and screech as though the horn they blew!
But when from me he separates, then fades
My tender beauty, as the lustrous gold
Pales in the midst of turquoise blue. His breast,
Perfumed with wreaths of flowers, gives me pain
As also pleasure, even like the hand
Which the *asunam* first with music sweet
Attracts, and later kills with grating drums.

Māṟōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār

Naṟṟinai 335—Neytal-Tiṇai

The silver moon has risen in the sky!
The swelling sea keeps sounding, and the waves
In volume rise and break upon the shore,
With growing force! The sea breeze blows through grove
Of screw pines tall, where flowering bunches sweet

In continuous row appear, as rice
From an inverted pitcher falls ! The lone
And melancholy *andril* leaves its perch
On the high top of black palmyra palms,
And me approaches with its plaintive cry !
As though all this was not enough, is heard
The life-endangering notes of *Vina* too
At midnight ! Greater in intensity
Of distress is my fever high of love !
And he, the lover who from all this pain
Can give relief, has left me ! O ! my fate !

Veḻḻivītiyār

ADMINISTRATION OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

For a proper background of the subject, one should note Britain's objective in this period in India.

Elizabeth's charter and embassy to Akbar were solely for the trade of England. For 150 years more, the charters were issued for just the same purpose. Wars with European rivals and negotiations with Indian princes were undertaken for securing a monopoly of trade with India. Everybody knows that the Seven Years War in 1756-1763 secured for England colonial, commercial and naval supremacy in the world.

Within twenty years after this war, there was a change in England's status in the East. Her American Colonies had revolted and become independent, and there was no room for British expansion in the new world. Britain, therefore, turned to India for an Empire; wars and treaties after 1783 were fought and concluded for territorial expansion and political supremacy and the next half a century was full of such things.

Another point should also be noted. With the French Revolution there was a new political theory. Governments were forced to search their hearts and show how far they were honest in their avowals. They were warned too of the consequences that might follow their apathy to subjects. In England, a wave of libertism started and swept over. Amongst those who were caught and convinced by this were many who had the destiny of India in their hands. They argued that, if not justice or humanity, at least the self-interest of Britain, *viz.*, the stability of her Empire in India and increasing flow of wealth by commerce and administration, should suggest an early establishment of good government in India.

Empire trade and good government were the principal objects of Britain in India. If extravagance, thrift

and charity could go together, these would keep company too. But in the nature of things it could not be. The idea of Empire united England and governed her policy towards India. The expression that India is out of party politics is as old as Pitt and Cornwallis. Where Englishmen differed and divided was in regard to the limits of England's commercial relation with India and to the benefits of the British rule to the Indian people. But it must be remembered that so long the Company was in charge of India there was not much chance of thrusting trade into the background and bringing the general administration sufficiently into prominence.

Consequently, any study of the Company's Government in India after 1783 should commence by appreciating its high place and value in the development of the British Empire in the East as well as by remembering the Company's own attitude to it relatively to trade. The former indicates the tremendous support in its favour while the latter leaves no doubt regarding the severe handicap; on the whole the elements of success were stronger than those of failure. The aspirations of a nation were bound to triumph in the long run over the hopes of a body of businessmen.

It is easy to see that the Company was neither a free nor a willing agent at the business, which was not simply that a government of some sort should be devised but that it should be also a source of good to the people of India. The fruits of latest research in the political philosophy of the West had to be given to the subject race even if it should involve some sacrifice of the resources of the rulers.

The problem was how the Company would do the task assigned to it ?

An analysis of the measures will furnish the answer.

Aliens and mighty conquerors as the English were, and in a very great minority in the population of a big country, they were forced to rest their power on the effective control of the sword and purse of the Indian nation (using this term in a popular fashion). Experience of a few years had taught them that they should strike the imagination of the Indians if

they should avoid the pitfalls of their predecessors in the government of India. And no time was lost in effecting both of these.

The second of these two measures could be easily disposed of although it took just as much time and trouble as the first. The Government said in fact three things:—(1) The British can do no wrong; (2) their administration is absolutely secure; (3) they will make no innovations against the wishes of the people. It behoved the Company as a consequence of these to place a high premium on the character of its officials, regulate the admission of Europeans into the country, watch and warn if necessary or even deport the undesirable Europeans, and keep its reputation untainted. The Portuguese had lost their empire by indifference to this important matter and their career was a lesson to the English. Christian missionaries and merchants and planters with capital were admitted only after a hot and prolonged controversy. The Company took great care in eschewing religion from politics. If it did undertake religious duties in a few places, it was more to respect the tradition of the people. Officials were strictly forbidden to act as missionaries of their faith.

For an effective control over the army, other measures were introduced. The Company separated the civil from the military branch of the public service once for all. It defined the size of its army, and its composition, description and duties. It kept the men contented by conferring special privileges and concessions. The European branch enjoyed, however, a lion's share of these, but the Indian was not quite forgotten. Medical aid, transport facilities and furloughs were provided for them also, and regulations decided conditions of their service. Roads were repaired or constructed anew, mountain passes were opened (in later times railways and telegraph were laid out), post offices were established, and supplies were assured, for the sake of the army. If the expenditure of the Company is closely examined, it will be clear that these items constituted the first charge on the public purse.

Having done these and a few more, the Company proceeded to make the Indian subjects powerless by measures which reduced them to an absolutely civil condition. The whole country was generally disarmed. Unwanted soldiers were disbanded. Regarding Indian princes, Sunderland says that when the Company was rising to power it was its object to divide and to govern. A survey of the treaties, engagements and Sanads will bear testimony to the Colonel's statement. Poligars were reduced to a condition of Zamindars. Their armies were either dismissed or subordinated to the interests of the Company. Individual military officers, usually men of ability, character and distinction under the ancient regime, were pensioned off and persuaded to employ their sons in more peaceful occupations. The press was controlled.

Finance was the next subject. The Company was paying a dividend of 9½% annually, and had to find it in Indian revenues. Besides, the cost of administration within India was extremely high. The directors were therefore naturally anxious to maintain a strict supervision and control over its income and expenditure. Regarding income every attempt was made to make it definite, regular and moderate to the tax-payer and to render the fiscal system conformable to well-known economic principles. Land revenue, which was the biggest item of all, could not, however, be brought under any sensible formula while custom and tradition could not be acceptable to the governors. Experiments were (and are still being) therefore made to discover a most satisfactory guide. Cornwallis and Sir Thomas Munro suggested extreme courses, zamindari and raiyatwari systems respectively. Holt Mackezse, Elphinstone and Bird advised and followed a more popular method, known as mahaldari, which is practically a compromise of the last two. What the Company wanted was a permanent settlement without the evils of inequality, injustice and fluctuation of revenue. Years of labour and surveying and discovering a distinctive and precise rate of assessment on every inch of land had to lapse before anything with possible definiteness could be known. Concomitantly with these, reforms in collections and balances

had to be introduced if the efforts at a proper demand should not be in vain. Rules were laid down for the guidance of revenue servants in every matter. Instructions were issued by Circulars, which at a later time were consolidated into a Revenue Code. Treasuries were opened for receiving the collections punctually and regularly. The coin of payment was for a long time left to the option of the tax-payer, but restriction regarding fresh issue removed further complication. In no case was the government prepared to receive its dues in kind; it would rather suffer a loss owing to a variable exchange in coins than speculate in the market for a good price for its grain or trust its collectors with stocks of popular perishable goods.

Government encouraged the poor cultivators to continue their business by takavi, remission (in case of loss due to unforeseen circumstances), and other concessions. It induced the people to extend cultivation by offering to accept payment on a graduated scale. There was nothing which the government was unwilling to consider to increase cultivation in the country.

Customs and duties were more easily managed. Because they depended upon a mechanical application of economic laws. When the Mughal power declined a number of governments independent of one another came into existence. A few of these broke up into smaller units and confused political life. For mere existence, all these had to levy taxes of all sorts. When these states were however conquered and their territories annexed by the Company, it had only to abolish all unpopular and meaningless taxes and bring its fiscal system into order in the light of canons of taxation. This the Company did rapidly enough. Transit duties were abolished. Excise was reduced to a minimum. Sea customs were regulated with due regard to economic conditions of England and India.

The Company reformed also the currency, but slowly. The point of view of the people who had been used to particular coins had to be upheld above the requirements of

the Company. The people should have confidence in the Company's administration before they could be expected to accept its rupee. The Company for its part had to wait for the disappearance of local coins. It was in 1850 that the rupee became the sole coin of revenue and account.

The most important aspect of finance, however, was not economic but administrative. There was corruption from top to bottom in the civil service when the Company commenced its administration. Nobody was considered free from it. Dr. Sen writes that public officers in the 17th century whether Asiatic or European were not overscrupulous. In the succeeding century, it was worse owing to more numerous wars. Too much was collected and too little credited to government by public servants. Nothing could be collected from those who resisted with arms or in bodies, while the weaker individuals were forced to pay more than once in a year. Feudal forces had rendered the worst. It fell to the lot of the Company to centralise, control, supervise and regulate the work of its officials. A thorough overhauling of the machinery, a complete revolution in the spirit of the management, and a scientific method were wanted, and with Lord Cornwallis the work commenced. The control of the whole system was vested in the home authorities. Not a pie could be spent without their express sanction, except in an emergency. The Governor-General had little discretion in civil matters, and to him expenditure was a more delicate and difficult question than revenue as it was really not very easy to decide where the Company's views coincided with his own, as for instance, in regard to allowances for extra work, rewards of long and honourable service pensions, grants-in-aid for charitable purposes, and things of the kind in which it paid the Company to incur some expense. There can be no doubt that this rule placed a restraint on the liberality of local governments and prevented matters from getting simply out of control.

Local supervision was vested in the Supreme Government of India and Provincial Governments. The latter had Boards of Revenue or special Commissioners to assist them. But

the great extent of the provinces, lack of communications, and complications of revenue work shifted the responsibility, from their august bodies to collectors of districts.

This led in practice to the appointment of only Europeans to Collectorships and other high offices. Indians were excluded from posts of confidence, trust, or high emolument, and placed in a subordinate capacity in public service. This was further institutionalised into the I.C.S. by a system of covenant with the employees. Even after the liberal charter of 1834, the highest office open to an Indian was that of a civil judge.

It should not be forgotten that this service proved wonderfully efficient for discharging its duties and deserved all the praise showered on it. Save a school of young political philosophers, the rest approved of a combination and concentration of powers in the collector. The key to this miracle is found in the price at which talent, industry and character were bought in England, in the care with which most of the selections were made, and also in the pains taken to train candidates for their profession. Every young man arriving in India was put into the Haileybury College, so long as it existed, for two years and then made to learn the language of the people with whom he would live, move and have his being. Personal advice was given to every fresher about his demeanour in public, and examples of successful men were placed before him for emulation. Malcolm's instructions were distributed for general conduct. The prospects in the civil service were very bright, promotions being given by seniority after a few years of good service. Men like Munro and Elphinstone became Governors of provinces wherein they were mere heads of districts.

To render supervision by the Collectors easy of accomplishment, rules were issued to make collections regular, remittances punctual and accounts quite correct. Treasuries were opened at all places where there were good collections but bad communications. Coin of revenue was unfixed but subject to a government rate of exchange. Revenue disputes were settled by the Collector himself to prevent waste of time on

irrelevant issues. The Collector was bound to fix up the final assessment in good time before the harvest. Although the policy of the government was to keep the demand rather low than increase occasions for remission, the Collectors were in the habit of excusing revenue in very bad cases even in anticipation of government approval just to avoid personal worry and meaningless balances.

A more perfect financial system, India did not have before in working. Effective in the control, diligent in the supervision, and sensible in the detail it was excellent even in theory.

When the sword and the purse of the nation was intact with the Company, it remained to make government beneficent. The pride of people was tickled by the promise that no innovation would be made in existing institutions unnecessarily, and they were kept in good humour by toleration of all but inhuman practices, however repugnant these were to a European. It was also declared that ancient institutions, rights and immunities should be respected and continued after thorough enquiry. Ecclesiastical and secular privileges, in the form of inams, charities and perquisites were accordingly left undisturbed while proved grants-in-aid of a charitable kind were allowed on more or less the same principle. Institutions like the office of patel and the panchayet were revised for the better government of villages. Police was organized as a branch of the revenue work, the collector, the tahsildar and the patel being the superintendents of police within their respective jurisdictions. The judicial system was revised and reformed so as to make it more useful to the people. The Company hoped to contribute a substantial code of laws. It deputed Macaulay solely for this purpose and appointed a Law Commission to continue his work after his departure. But both failed in their task. In the absence of a satisfactory system of laws, local laws modified in the light of western thought were freely applied. The appointment of European judges to try criminal cases helped justice in that sphere to become more humane, while a large number

of Indian judges in civil disputes, especially employment of panchayets, rendered civil justice more popular. Lawyers were no doubt generally excluded, but the judges could at their own discretion let them plead in some cases. Appeals were encouraged under certain conditions. It is not necessary to go here into the controversies on the suitability of a civil judge being a magistrate too or the delegation of judicial power to a petty official like a patel, or the imposition of fees on pleas and appeals or the toleration of a legal profession. The records are full of interesting arguments and have ceased to be of any but historical value. The ideal of speedy, inexpensive and equitable justice actuated every attempt at reform, and may be considered to have been all but realised before 1860. Experiments were made for an increased production of cotton, silk, jute, sugarcane, tobacco, tea and coffee with European capital. Indigo plantations were flourishing. But the manufacturing industry did not enjoy patronage at all. Salt was a government monopoly and sea-salt drove away earth-salt from the market. Exports and imports of the country were reversed, *i.e.*, raw materials went out and cash was coming in. This single phenomenon is the revolution of the Company's period, which was stabilised by the opening of the Red Sea route, laying of the submarine cable, use of steam ships, creation of Bombay as the first harbour in India with road, railway and telegraph communications to Madras, Calcutta and other important towns, and fixing up an embargo on export on manufactured goods. This revolution was not accompanied by any substantial benefit in the economic life of India.

Economic development was mainly in the field of agriculture. Government was interested in the extension of arable land and in the increased cultivation of cotton, jute, sugarcane, tea, coffee and indigo with, if possible, European capital and skill. That its efforts were successful is all too clear from official statistics. Manufacturing industry for which India was famous, suffered a serious and permanent decline from 1800 owing to the Industrial Revolution in England

and the consequent free-trade policy of that country. Even salt ceased to be a useful industry in the country as sea-salt ousted it from the market by its superior quality and sovereign management. In consequence, exports of finished goods fell while their imports rose, and raw materials left the country in increasing quantity from year to year. This unfavourable position was made rather more normal with the opening of the Red Sea route and other transport facilities enumerated above and the admittance of England as the most-favoured country in the international commerce of India.

Public works of any great variety were few and far between. There was no money, it was said. Roads were on this account in a wretched condition.

Education, medical aid and public sanitation suffered more than all for want of funds. There was no local self-government in those days, and the magnitude of work under these heads simply scared away the home government. The Company did not hesitate to admit its inability, but when public criticism was getting too strong, it advised its Governor-General Dalhousie to initiate schemes for fresh public works and increased education of the people. Perhaps it was a benevolence on the eve of the renewal of its charter, but the Company was never expected to do extraordinary things on any other occasion.

The next result of all the measures so far described was that the Company established a firm government in India and in some respects it was beneficial to its subjects. The Empire got its stability, the Company promoted its own prosperity and the mass of Indians enjoyed peace. Politically, India was one. Travellers and merchants could move from place to place without fear of detention or forfeiture. Justice was uniform and certain, life and property were safe. But little more than these was had by the people. The Parliament of England put the Company under an obligation in return for the renewals of the charter to administer India properly. The idea of trade was made more real and vital. But the Company took only minimum trouble for complying with the parliament's request.

One of the tests of the Company's good work is in its attempts to rebuild village self-government. It is clear that it killed that ancient institution by making patel a government official instead of leaving him at the mercy of his fellowmen. The raiyatwari settlement stood for individualism and so sapped the village of its corporateness. The permanent settlement took no notice of the villages at all. And the village settlements in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and the Punjab did only lip-service to the national institution.

Another test is found in its economic achievements. Poverty was increasing, and with it character was declining. There was a continuous drain of Indian capital and raw material to England, a decline in local industries, and colossal unemployment. All the services were open freely to foreigners, a few exclusively too, and lucrative posts in public service, business houses, factories, etc. were filled by Europeans. The pitch of land revenue assessment was determined not by a due reference or deference to economic thought but by research in the administration of the Mughals and the Marathas. Prices were rising and reducing the purchasing power of money. In spite of this the raiyat was made to pay the demand. Rural indebtedness increased directly and led to misery. Litigation which sprang up under the protection of English judges increased penury. The democratic Englishman had levelled down the princes and left their servants and dependants in cold air. Merchants who throve on the extravagance of royal courts, scholars and such others who owed their existence to the liberality of princes had lost their occupations and been degraded to poverty.

A third test may be with reference to the Company's attitude to the growing depravity of its subjects. Drinking evil was increasing among the well-to-do people. Corruption was common owing to the sharp struggle for existence. Every post had its price. Education was either confined to the Brahmins or limited to the three R's if imparted to others. The efforts of Christian missionaries were laudable but inadequate.

The introduction of the English education weaned away talent from village to town leaving the former in greater darkness. Thomson's scheme of the vernacular rural school was praised but not pursued after his death. The Company as well as European writers of this period were not over-polite in their character sketches of Indians, obviously ignoring the prime author of all. On one side were Europeans with a high sense of duty and in comfort, and on the other side lived Indians steeped in poverty, superstition and vice. The Company looked on this picture without lifting a single finger to improve it.

The fact is that no one expected a miracle from a corporation of merchants. The trouble was that the heart of that body was dry and its interests lay outside India. It created a police-state and did not attempt to foster real welfare and culture. India was essentially royalist and could not understand an abstract sovereign. It was not possible to comprehend its character or genius for a people who had no aptitude or leisure for it. Mistakes were bound to be committed by the Company in the course of its management of India and one of them was the cause for the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny. The Parliament of England thereupon chastised the Company as a very bad boy and undertook the direct administration of India through the Crown.

BALACARITAM

By Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, M.A.

Act I

(*Then at the end of Nāndī*[1] *enter Sūtradhāra*)

Sūtradhāra.—May the Lord, who formerly in *Kṛtayuga* was known as Nārāyaṇa and who (then) had a body as fair as milk and conch shell; who in *Tretāyuga* was the golden-coloured Viṣṇu who measured the three worlds with his three steps; who in *Dvāparayuga* was Rāma, in complexion like the *Dūrvā* grass, born to kill Rāvaṇa; and who in *Kaliyuga* was Dāmodara, dark like antimony—may He always protect you!

This, worthy sires, I beg to inform you. But, ah, what is this sound which I hear when I am about to speak? Well, I see:

(*In the postscenium*)

I am the wanderer in the sky—

Sūtradhāra.—Well I understand;

Here falls the shower of flowers, and the trumpets of Gods are sounding. This is Nārada come quickly to see Hari born in the family of the Vṛṣṇis.[2] (2)

(*Exit*)

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[1] Nāndī is a long religious ceremony and the recital of the so-called Nāndī verse constitutes the very last item of the ceremony. It is to be noticed that so far as the practice of the Cākyars, the Kerala professional actors, is concerned, they act only one act of a drama at a time and sometimes only a part of an act; and on all such occasions, they have to perform the Nāndī. Consequently the so-called Nāndī verse might as well be only the Nāndī verse to the particular act or part of the act they stage, and therefore need not be the Nāndī verse of the drama. Such Nāndī verses are available for intermediate scenes also; *cf.* the writer's paper on the Kerala Theatre in *AUJ.*, Vol. III, No. 2.

[2] Notice the peculiar feature of the *Sthāpanā* in the series of dramas which may be correctly styled the *Kerala-Nāṭaka-Cakra* and which includes in it also the *Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra*. The subject is fully

[*Sthāpanā*[3]]

(*Then enter Nārada*)

Nārada.—I am the wanderer in the sky, Nārada, well known in all the three worlds; from *Brahmaloka* I have come here, the lover of discord. (3)

Ha!

The struggle between the Devas and Asuras having died down, I find no pleasure in the ever quiet ethereal regions. In the intervals between my Vedic studies do I, indeed, sound the strings (of my musical instrument) and work up discords. (4)

Further:

Great is my devotion to the words of the *Grandfather*; and respected by me are those rich in penance. But, to speak the truth, the *vīṇā* struck with the nails of my fingers, hatreds, and violent discords—these alone do please me. (5)

Hence have I come to see the divine Lord Nārāyaṇa, now born in the family of the Vṛṣṇis to kill Kamsa for the well-being of the world,—the Lord who is the source of the world, who is indestructible and unchanging. Lo, here is worthy Devakī. Accompanied by Vasudeva, she is slowly stealing out of her own palace, carrying (with her) the Lord of the three worlds who has become a child by His Māyā. And she, overcome by grief and lovely as the moon, carries in her arms in the silence of the night[4] the Lord of Devas, like the mount Mandara, the Lord who is the Refuge of the world and the Destroyer of the Daityas and who is armed with *Cakra*. (6)

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dealt with in the paper mentioned above. The purpose of the *Sthāpanā* is to announce the scene that is about to be staged and it is made as short as is consistent with this purpose. Here is really to be found not a new dramatic technique, but a very economic practice of the professional actor.

[3] The printed text does not give the stage direction. But following the usual practice of this series of dramas, we have inserted it within brackets.

[4] We adopt the reading *praśānte* instead of *praśāntaḥ*.

Ha, here He is, the divine Nārāyaṇa !

The lotus-eyed Lord, who is of inexhaustible valour; Lord of Devas; Suppressor of the valour of the Asuras, Banner of three worlds, Creator of the universe, Ruler of the people, Primeval Being. (7)

Good, here has sprouted the seed of discord: I shall now go back to *Brahmaloka* after making *Pradakṣiṇa* to Lord Nārāyaṇa. I bow to the Lord, Source of all the three worlds.

Unto the inimitable Lord Nārāyaṇa, who has eyes pure like the petal of a lotus, who is always devoted to the human world, who is the delight of the universe, who has pleased the world by humbling the pride of Rāvaṇa and Virocana—unto this valorous Lord, the Abode of all valour, I bow. (8)

(*Exit*[5])

(*Then enter Devakī with a child in her hand*[6])

Devakī.—Ah fie! There have indeed been great auguries manifested at the time of birth, which prophesy the greatness of my child; and these were clear; but when I think of the heartlessness of the accursed Kamsa, my unfortunate self does not feel very hopeful. Where can my lord have gone? (*Wandering about and looking in front*) Ah, here comes my lord, his eyes opened wide with happiness and wonder.

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5 The exact purpose of this episode is to announce the birth of Śri Kṛṣṇa. It is for consideration whether this should form part of the main scene or should be only a *Miśraviṣkambhaka*. I prefer taking it as the latter. The scene is in place in the context and it gives ample scope for Cākyars to act. If, however, it is staged in a modern theatre, as we are now accustomed to see it, it is bound to fall flat. The same view has to be taken regarding the scene where the divine weapons come and present themselves before the incarnation. That part also, I believe, might better come here. As it stands, it is in the way of a dramatic situation. *Vide* note 11.

6 Here begins the main scene of the first act.

(*Then enter Vasudeva*)

Vasudeva (*Thinking*).—What can this be ?

The sky is rent with flashes of lightning; the earth shivers with the roar of the freshly laden clouds driven by a furious wind. And here now for protecting the world is, indeed, born (in secret) Viṣṇu, the Destroyer of the hosts of Asuras. (9)

(*Looking*) This is Devakī.

Forgetting her own sufferings and desirous only of protecting the seventh child to forget the loss of her six sons, here comes Devakī more and more lovable on account of many virtues, carrying the child, who is announced to be a son, the Death of Kaṁsa as foretold by auguries at the time of birth. (10)

Devakī (*Approaching*) Long live my lord !

Vasudeva.—Devaki, it is midnight. All people are asleep in Mathura. So, before anybody sees it, I shall take the child away.

Devakī.—Where will my lord take him to ?

Vasudeva.—Devaki, thou speakest true. I also do not know. The wicked Kamsa controls the whole world under his sole sovereignty. Where, now, shall I take this benign child to ? Or, let me take the child and go where God leads me.

Devakī.—My lord, let me look at him well.

Vasudeva.—Ah, fond mother!

Why look ? This is the moon in the very jaws of Rāhu. Kamsa will become his death by the time you have seen him well. (11)

Devakī.—That shall never be.

Vasudeva.—May all Devas repeat what you have said. Bring.

Devakī.—Receive, my lord.

Vasudeva. (*Receiving*).

Ah, the weight of the child ! Well: this benign lotus-eyed child, who is of the weight of Vindhya and Mandara, has been borne in womb by her. Ah, wonderful is woman's endurance. (12)

Devaki, go inside.

Devaki.—Here goes my unfortunate self. (*Exit*)

Vasudeva.—This Devakī:

With her heart here and her body there goes divided in twain, like the crescent in the sky and in the water. (13)

Alas, gone inside is Devakī. I too shall now resort to the city gates.

Angry on account of the destruction of the first born children and perplexed on account of fear from the king, I have received the child and am eagerly hastening on my way carrying him like the mount Mandara in my arms. (14)

(*Walking about*) Here is the city gate. I shall enter. (*Entering*) Lo! All Mathura is sunk in sleep. I shall now get out. (*Wandering about*) I am now out of Mathura. Lo, it is intensely dark. Now indeed:

Darkness seems to anoint the limbs and the sky seems to rain antimony; and sight has become fruitless like service under wicked persons. (15)

Ah, the grandeur of darkness!

The quarters have become indistinct and the trees seem closely clustered. The contours of the earth though well known seem transformed.[7] (16)

I am unable to proceed further. Ah, here is the gleam of a lamp! Can it be that the wicked Kamsa, informed of my flight, is come, surrounded by lights, to capture me? Well now, I shall humble his pride (*Draw the sword, stopping and looking about*) Ah, I see no one! Ah!

I cannot find my way, because the world is shrouded in darkness. To help me in my flight, the child has created this lustre! (17)

This is the way. I shall now proceed. Ah! Here is the divine Jumna in front flooded on account of seasonal rains. Alas! Futile has been my labour. What shall I now do? Well, then, thus be it:

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[7] The similes appear to be not very clear. On account of darkness Vasudeva has lost his direction and so could not find out his way.

The river abounds in crocodiles and snakes and is impassable even for the mind; yet shall I, freed of all doubts, quickly swim over and carry the treasure, God willing. (18)

(*Thus doing, with wonder*) Ha! Split in twain do the waters stand, here flowing and there standing still. The goddess has granted me a passage. I shall now cross over. (*Having crossed*) I have now crossed the Jumna. Ah, I hear the hum of a sound. Really my unfortunate self is near the cowherd's quarters; and nearby here lives my friend Nandagopa. I have, indeed, chained and whipped him as ordered by Kamsa. Well, I will get in. Or the cowherds may doubt why Vasudeva has come at night. I shall therefore wait here at the foot of this *Nyagrodha* tree, awaiting the break of dawn. Ho! Ho! Sylvan Goddesses! If this child is born in the Vṛṣṇi family for the well-being of the world and to kill Kamsa, then may some one come here from the huts. No, no, my friend Nandagopa come.

(*Then enter Nandagopa carrying a child*)

Nandagopa (*Sorrowfully*).—My child, why dost thou now not like our house? Why dost thou leave us? Here now indeed is dense darkness like that of a herd of hundred buffaloes.[8]

Deprived of the moonlight by the clouds, the night appears with her features hidden like a sleeping Gopa woman dressed in blue and well covered over. (19)

At midnight to-day my wife Yaśodā gave birth to this baby and the poor child was dead the moment it was born. Our tribal festival *Indrayajña* falls to-morrow and I don't want that my tribesmen should share this sad news. So I have come all alone taking the child, though my legs are heavy with irons. Poor Yaśodā does not know whether it is a boy or girl she has given birth to, for she swooned away. Ah, my child, my child!

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8 The simile is very appropriate, particularly when it is remembered that the speaker is a cowherd.

Vasudeva.—Who can it be who thus bewails at night? This wretched man must, indeed, be one like myself.

Nandagopa.—Why dost thou now not like our house? Why dost thou leave us?

Vasudeva.—I recognise him from his voice. It must be my friend Nandagopa and I shall hail him. Dear Nandagopa, hail this way!

Nandagopa (*With fear*).—Ah, my unfortunate self! Who can this be calling me in familiar tones, Nandagopa, Nandagopa! Can this be a Rākṣasa, or a ghost? The night is so terrible and I have my dead child in my arms. What shall I now do?

Vasudeva.—Dear Nandagopa! Enough of your fears. Come this way!

Nandagopa (*Listening, slowly*).—Hem, his voice tells me he is my master, Vasudeva. I shall approach him. Or what have I to do with him? He has ill-treated me, for as ordered by Kamsa, he whipped and chained me. So I shan't go. Or, fie upon my ingratitude! He has done me a hundred favours. He shares with me my joys and sorrows, and if he has once imprisoned me I know he did it at the king's order. I shall therefore approach him. But this girl—what shall I do? Well, I shall do thus. (*Approaching and looking and wondering*) The night is approaching dawn. Here stands my master Vasudeva, carrying a child. (*Approaching*) Hail, my lord!

Vasudeva.—Dear Nandagopa, your herds are prospering?

Nandagopa.—Yes, my lord, they are well.

Vasudeva.—Your mistress doing well?

Nandagopa.—Mistress? Yes, my lord, she is well.

Vasudeva.—Friend, what is it you are hiding now?

Nandagopa.—Nothing, my lord.

Vasudeva.—I'll curse you on my life, if thou wilt not speak the truth.

Nandagopa.—Alas, I have no escape. Listen, my lord. At midnight to-day my mistress, no, no, I mean your slave, Yaśodā, gave birth to this baby, but it was dead the

moment it was born. Our tribal festival *Indrayajña* falls to-morrow. I don't want my tribesmen to share this sad news and so I have come all alone taking the child, though my legs are heavy with irons. Poor Yaśodā does not know whether it is a boy or girl she has given birth to, for she swooned away.

Vasudeva.—Alas, alas, it is impossible to deceive the Lord of Death, the sole basis of this world. Friend, abandon the inanimate body.

Nandagopa.—I cannot, my lord, I cannot.

Vasudeva.—Such is the way of the world. Abandon.

Nandagopa.—As my lord orders. My child, my child (*Begin to cry*)[9]

Vasudeva.—Enough of tears, my friend. Rise, rise.

Nandagopa.—(*Doing thus and approaching*) Hail, my lord, what may thy servant do ?

Vasudeva.—Friend, thou knowest well that my six children have been killed by the wicked Kamsa.

Nandagopa.—I know, my lord, I know.

Vasudeva.—This, then, is my seventh : may he live long ! My children have no luck. Through your good luck, let this live. Receive.

Nandagopa.—I am afraid, my lord, I am afraid. If king Kamsa is to hear that Vasudeva's child is left for safety in the hands of Nandagopa, why then to be brief, my head is gone.

Vasudeva.—(*To himself*) Alas, my purpose is foiled. The wicked always speak fair. Thus then shall tell him. (*Aloud*) Friend Nandagopa !

If there is anything I have done for you in former days, then the time is come for you to repay it. (20)

Nandagopa.—Speak you of gratitude ? Let Kamsa be or his father Ugrasena be: bring the child, my lord.

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9 Evidently there is a lacunæ in the text, regarding the stage direction and this is clear from the next speech. We may add some stage direction as the following: *Placing the dead body on the ground and sitting by its side and crying.*

Vasudeva.—Friend, receive.

Nandagopa.—I am polluted, my lord, as I was carrying a dead child. Wait for me a moment and I shall go in the meanwhile and purify myself in the waters of the Jumna.

Vasudeva.—Thanks to your life in the Ghoṣa, thou art by nature pure.

Nandagopa.—Then shall I purify myself in the dust of the Ghoṣa, as befits my life.[10]

Vasudeva.—No harm. Thou mayst purify thyself.

Nandagopa.—As my lord orders. (*Doing thus, with great wonder*) Wonderful, wonderful, my lord, wonderful! As I was searching out holy dust, there has risen up a column of water from inside the earth four cubits high!

Vasudeva.—That is indeed the greatness of the child. Purify thyself.

Nandagopa.—Yes, my lord. (*Doing thus and approaching*) Here I am, my lord.

Vasudeva.—Receive.

Nandagopa.—My lord, my weak arms are not able to hold the child who is like Mandara.

Vasudeva.—Friend, thou art indeed a man of great strength and prowess.

Nandagopa.—Listen my lord, to my feats of strength. When a bull is piercing me I can rescue myself by plucking off its horns. When the wheels of a chariot are sunk deep in mud, I am able to lift them out. Such though I am, I cannot now hold this child.

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[10] Here is an interesting side-light thrown on social customs. Of the numerous methods of purification, there are suggested two methods here, one by a plunge bath and another by the application of dust from the earth. The cowherd may purify himself by the dust of the earth. From the fact that he was searching for a particular kind of dust, it seems that he was searching for the dust of cow-dung or the dust from the foot-print of a cow. In any case the usual method is by a plunge bath, as is clear from the sequel.

(*Then enter the five weapons and Garuḍa*[11])

Garuḍa.—I am the golden-winged Garuḍa of great speed, alike the banner and chariot of the Lord, armed with Śārṅga. Formerly in the fight between Devas and Asuras, I have borne Viṣṇu, thanks to His own strength. (21)

Cakra.—I am the Discus shining in the arms of Kṛṣṇa similar unto the noon-day Sun in fiery splendour. By me were the hosts of Daityas and Danavas killed in conquering the world by the three steps and in churning the ocean. (22)

Śārṅga.—I am Śārṅga with a beautiful rounded middle in the arms of Viṣṇu, woman-like in form and proud with the strength and prowess of a man. For His sake the hosts of enemies are broken by me in battlefront with their elephantry and chariotry and cavalry and infantry destroyed. (23)

Kaumodakī.—I am Hari's maze, Kaumodakī by name, who formerly churned the river Sarayu under His orders. I sport in the river of blood of the Danavas killed by me in battle. (24)

Śaṅkha.—I am the conch taken by Viṣṇu himself from the milk ocean. By my noise do the enemies of the Devas die in the battlefield. (25)

Nandaka.—I am Nandaka and there is none to face me in battle. I go when but thought of by the all-powerful Viṣṇu. (26)

Cakra.—We, Cakra, Śārṅga, Gadā, Śaṅkha and Nandaka who are the destroyers of the Daityas—we the attendants have all come in a body to carry out Vāsudeva's work. (27)

Come on therefore. We shall also go and be born in the Ghoṣa in the guise of cowherds to follow up the deeds of the child who is the divine Viṣṇu come to this mortal world.

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[11] There is no particular appropriateness in the introduction of the weapons at this juncture, just when Nandagopa said that he felt the child very heavy. *Vide* note 2. I would suggest that the whole scene be put back to the interlude. As it stands, it introduces a break in the conversation which, to say the least, is unhappy.

All.—So be it. (*They attend upon Viṣṇu*)

Vasudeva.—Friend, bow down to the child.

Nandagopa.—So be it, my lord. Prince, I bow to thee. I bow to thee. (Be light. Make yourself as light as a blade of grass.) Who among the cowherds is strong and powerful enough to hold you ?

Cakra[12].—Divine Nārāyaṇa! Our obeisance to thee! O Lord, Viṣṇu!

The purposes of all the Devas, good or bad, gain strength in the world through you. So, O thou light of the Yadava race, bless this man by becoming light. (28)

Vasudeva.—Receive.

Nandagopa.—As my lord orders. (*Receive*)

Vasudeva.—Friend, dawn is near. Return.

Nandagopa.—Wonderful, wonderful, my lord! My chains have fallen away!

Vasudeva.—All this betokens the greatness of the child. Return.

Nandagopa.—As my lord orders.

Vasudeva.—Or this way please.

Nandagopa.—Here am I, my lord.

Vasudeva.—I know thou art by nature loving. Yet on its behalf do I now solicit a natural love in protecting this seed of the Yadava race, now entrusted to you, the sole survivor from many burnt down. (29)

What wilt thou do with this child ?

Nandagopa.—Listen, my lord. Going to one house, he will drink milk ; going to another, he will taste ghee ; going to still another, he will swallow butter ; and in a fourth, he will take curds. In short, he will be the Lord of the place.

Vasudeva.—So be it. Thou mayst return.

Nandagopa.—As my lord orders. (*Exit*)

Vasudeva.—Gone is Nandagopa and I too shall go back to Mathura. (*Walking about*) A cry, it seems, is heard. Can

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[12] If the point of view taken regarding the arrival of the weapons is acceptable, here the reading may be *ākāśe*.

it be that Nandagopa is returning for fear of Kamsa? (*Walking about*) Ah, this child is come back to life! I shall place this in the hands of Devakī and thus deceive the wicked Kamsa. (*Taking it*) Ah, what weight! This is another great spirit, but little different from the prince. I shall turn back. Ah! The celestial Jumna stands as it then was. I shall cross over. (*Walking about*) I have crossed the Jumna. (*Walking about*) These are the city gates. The whole of Mathura is still asleep. (*Entering*) This, the palace of Kamsa seems as if resorted to by the *Elder Sister* and this our abode by *Śri*. I shall now go in and console Devakī. May the Gods bless us! (*Exit*).[13]

End of Act I.

(*To be continued*)

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[13] As was already mentioned, the act gives ample scope for acting as the Cākyars are accustomed to act it. There is little of dramatic interest as such. And this is an indication that the drama, in the present form, must be attributed to a Malayali, who wrote it, or adapted it, to suit the requirements of the Kerala theatre.

TWO CENTURIES OF WAḌEYAR RULE IN MYSORE (1565-1761)

By N. Subba Rau, M.A.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIV, No. 3, p. 251*)

Social Life: (b) Towns and Townplanning.—Closely connected with religion was social life in the country. The period witnessed the growth of the town of Mysore and the capital city of Seringapatam, important centres of social activities. Of these places, in the earlier part of the seventeenth century we have some accounts in contemporary sources:[244] 'Seringapatam (Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa) is an extensive and beautiful city laid out with shining streets. Its fort with mighty ramparts, trenches and spikes, is pleasing to the eye adorned as it is with flags of great magnificence and beauty. The fort-walls are decorated with tiger faces. In the bastions are placed mighty guns to guard the city. In the military stores are stored varieties of arms and ammunition: Tridents, slings, catapults, crackers, packets of powder and various steel weapons. In the guard rooms of the four walls of the city there are guards armed with fine weapons.

In that capital city are to be seen horse-stables containing horses captured from the hostile chiefs and sent as tribute by the supplicant lords of Belur, Narasimhapura and other places. There are also elephant stables in the city. Near the eastern fort gate there is one containing elephants captured from the army of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura. In front of the gate of Mysore there is another containing elephants sent as tribute by the Chengalva King who was defeated in battle. Near the gate of Vījayapura (Bījapur) there are yet others wherein the elephants taken from the mighty Telugu kings are to be seen. In the central street are stables of elephants sent as tribute by the powerful lords of Koḍagu, Konkaṇa, Kongu, Maleyāḷa and other countries.

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[244] *Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijayam* (1648); ch. VII.

The city is conspicuous for the King's Palace. It is a beautiful building with a number of chambers or apartments. In the dining hall of the palace are to be seen a bevy of females wearing costly jewels. There are chambers containing treasures of gold and other things, testifying to the king's wealth. The apartments containing stores and varieties of palatable dishes are a source of wonder to the spectators. The *āyudhaśāle* (armoury) is a beautiful building in which are stored weapons seized from the enemies in battle. Hard by the palace the newly constructed canal flows. There is also a garden belonging to the palace where varieties of sweet-scented flower-plants are to be seen. The jewellery chamber of the palace is full of costly ornaments studded with pearls, diamonds and so forth. There is a house for storing utensils of various metals. There are rooms containing varieties of costumes. There are granaries too.

The hall of the palace is tastefully decorated. The *chitra śāla* (picture gallery) is a very nice portion of the palace and so also are the *Lakshmi Vilāsa, Durga Manṭapa and Śārada Manṭapa.* There is again the famous *Bhuvaneśvari* (an artificial dome) gorgeously decorated. The theatrical hall is artistically laid out. There are also chambers named *Indirā Mandira, Bhangāra Chowki, Madana Vilāsa, Soundarya Vilāsa, Vijaya Bhavana*—all constructed on a new model and carved with images. In front of the principal gates of the palace the beautiful peacock swings are causing amazement to the eyes.

The city is also famous for the Ranganātha and Lakshmi Narasimha temples. There are likewise temples of Thiruvenkaṭeśvara, Tirumaleśvara and Béṭe Rāya—the guardian deities of the city; also temples of Gangādhara, Vīreśa, Maraḍi Tirumala Rāya, Narasimha Mūrti, Bāgila Venkateśa and other minor Gods. Doḍḍa Hampayya Maṭha, Mûleya Maṭha, the Maṭha of the Viraktas and the Dāsoha Maṭha are some of the Maṭhas in the city.

The streets of the city are lined with fine buildings with decorated balconies and golden pinnacles. There are two

main streets named after the *Sun* and the *Moon* respectively. In these streets are to be seen the mansions of the chiefs carved with *bās-reliefs*—illustrating stories from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata—as well as *figurines* of animals. The market street (ಸಂತೆಪೇಟೆ) is shining with rows of shops on either side, containing articles of various description testifying to the opulence of the merchants. In one of the streets reside Brahmans learned in the Vedas, Śāstras and Purāṇas. There is another wherein reside poets well versed in literary and dramatic lore. In one part of the city are to be seen the mansions of ministers; in another, there are streets wherein dwell experts in astrology and in music. There is a street for expert accountants and financiers. In one street reside the intimate councillors of the king; in another, the physicians. There are also streets for Vokkaligas, Lingāyats. There are streets for songsters, dancers, dancing-girls, buffoons and so forth. Spicers, oil-mongers, barbers, copper-melters, wrestlers, fishermen and tailors have separate streets. In rows of houses reside drummers, trumpeteers, buglers, torch-bearers, menials, syces, mahouts, camel riders and others. In some streets there are houses of royal cavaliers and foot-soldiers. Other streets there are, wherein dwell the indefatigable Nāyakas of the army, moralists and philosophers, experts in arts, Vīravaishṇavas, Jogis and others.'

Of Mysore also about the same time we have a more or less similar picture given to us.[245] Thus: 'Surrounding the city of Mysore there is a fine garden. On the road-sides there are rest-houses. The city presents a splendid appearance. It has a fine fort ornamented (with spikes), surrounded by a trench, well guarded, with flags hoisted up, and with ramparts, water passages and weapons of warfare stocked in the arsenals. The streets in the city are named after the *Sun* and the *Moon*, and contain beautiful houses and mansions. There are streets wherein reside

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[245] *Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijayam* (1648); *op. cit.*, ch. II (Select Ext.).

Vedic scholars, adepts in śāstric lore, logicians and poets; streets wherein dwell court buffoons, dancers, *Vaiṇikas*, wrestlers and songsters. People of all castes and communities live in the city. The fine palace is divided into a number of sections—the central hall, ornamented chambers, the durbar hall, dining hall, visitors' chambers, servants' rooms, theatrical hall and so forth. There are diamond merchants and jewellers; grain merchants, flower-sellers, and dancing-girls, in the streets of the city. Glorious indeed is the view of it presented to the spectators. Above all the city is adorned by the temples of Gods *Triṇeśvara, Lakshmīkānta, Ānjaneya* (*Bāgila Hanuma*), *Kālabhairava*—who favour and protect their devotees. There are young guards, favoured by the Goddess Chāmundi, keeping watch and ward over the city.'

We have also some interesting accounts of these cities in the time of Chikkadevarāja.[246] Thus, 'The city of Seringapatam (Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa) under Chikkadevarāja is impregnable like Ayōdhya. Surrounded by the glorious Kāveri, with the fort reaching up to the sky, as it were, with new ornamentations, trenches, ramparts, water courses, banners and flag-staffs, with Kshatriyas, Brahmans, Vaiśyas and Śudras, with shining temples, resplendent mansions (containing ponds with water clear as crystal), adorned with towering storeys, with ornamented stables (containing rutting elephants and horses), with the glorious Sun and Moon streets, with shops of perfumers, jewellers, exchange dealers, corn merchants, bangle-dealers, metal merchants, spicers and cocoanut dealers; with decorated houses of various classes of people—characterised by all these features is the city of Seringapatam conspicuous.' From a contemporary inscription[247] we note: 'With plum, jack, cocoanut, plantain, lime, orange, fig and other fruit trees, with houses as high as hills, was the city filled; and with cows and Brahmans, with trees of plenty, with temples, with fine elephants like Airavata,

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246 Mallikārjuna, *Śrī Ranga Māhātmya, A'śv II*, 46-48.

247 *E.C.*, IV (2) ML. 61 (1685).

with horses neighing like the thunder of the clouds, with splendid chariots and foot-soldiers—was Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa.' Of Mysore about the same time we have the following picture:[248] 'In that city of Mysore (situated hard by the Chāmundi Hills, surrounded by a garden and containing a fine fort), the four classes of people stand as follows: The Brahmans are proficient in the recitation of the Vedas, highly learned in the arts and guide the people along the right path. They are living in peace and glory in the city. The Kshatriyas who are well versed in the science of warfare and devoted to the feet of Achyuta, live side by side. The Vaiśyas are very rich and liberal. The Śudras identify themselves with the festivities of Gods, and the activities of kings and others. They are at the height of their prosperity and glory in their noble pursuit of agriculture, and heaps of corn can be seen in all directions. There is a theatre in the city where music and literature flourish.' From these gleanings we are enabled to form a picture—ideal but not entirely divorced from the reality of the state of cities and city life in the period.

(*b*) *Corporate Activities.*—Corporate life and activities flourished in local parts during the period. The *maṭha*, with the feeding house (*satra*) not unusually attached to it, was the centre of social life—particularly the meeting place of communal gatherings. The temple, and in many cases, the village *Chāvaḍi* also formed centres of corporate activities. The *Kūṭa*, an assembly for religious purposes—such as *Jaṇgamakūṭa*, *Rāmānujakūṭa*—was likewise a corporate body. The *agrahāra* generally granted to Brahmans of various *gotras*, *sūtras* and *śākhās* with *Vrithis* or shares in village lands formed a unit for corporate life among them in local parts, especially in matters of ritualism and preservation of sacred lore. With the growth of the kingdom, associations of merchants and officials in various parts of the country arose giving expression to corporate feeling among them, while the

248 Mallikārjuna, *op. cit.*, I, 128-132.

self-governing *Bārābalūti system* was a common feature of corporate life in villages throughout the period. Grants to these institutions were often made by the rulers to foster the *esprit de corps* in the localities.

We may gather some interesting details connected with these activities: The subjects and their followers in the Moḷur sīme made the grant[249] of a *Dīpa mālā* pillar for God Lakshmikānta of Moḷur. The mortgage holders—merchants and gaudas, nineteen in number—gave up the mortgage bonds (relating to the debts of the temple of Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa) in the presence of Gommaṭēśvara and the Jain Guru Chārukīrti Paṇḍitadēva—when the debts were released by Chāmarāja.[250] The local *Senabhogas* and the palace *Senabhogas* of Āne Bāgur assisted Nanjayya, son of Koṭṭūrayya the king's agent (*Kārya karta*) at Sāligrāma, in the erection of a *navaranga paṭṭaśāle* (verandah) and an enclosure wall for God Gōpala of Āne Bāgur and in the promotion of works of merit.[251] Private individuals set up[252] the images of Nāgabhaktaiya and erected a maṇṭapa in the Channarāya-paṭṭaṇa sīme. Certain gaudas of Hemmarājāla are said to have repaired the temple of Bīrēdeva. Sometime later, we are told, the heirs of Bōḷa Bire Gowḍa and Parasi Gowḍa expressed their inability to pay the money due for their two shares on account of their poverty. Thereupon Doḍḍabire Gowḍa saying 'Do not do so', joined them in taking up the management in future of the incense and lights of the temple (*Devasthānada dhūpa dīpa*). The chiefs, the farmers, the public servants, the people of Terakaṇāmbi, Kaḷale and Hampāpura with those of *kaḷale sect*—every element of the body politic—are stated to have been witnesses in connection with this affair.[253] The *Gurikāras*, the *Pārupatyagārs*, the *sunka-manihyagāras* (toll collectors), the

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249 *E.C.*, IV (2) HG. 21 (1625).
250 *E.C.*, II SB. 250 (1634).
251 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 185 (1650).
252 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 171 (1651).
253 *E.C.*, IV (2) NJ. 106 (1653).

senabhogas, the *rāvutas*, the *rāṇuves* and others of the *gaḍis* in the Kāṇikāranahaḷḷi sīme, were required to make cash contributions every year to provide for the offerings, illuminations, car festivals and service of the God Mahadeśvara of Moḷagāla.[254] The consent of the Royal Family, relatives, heirs and chiefs for the grant[255] of a village (by name Biḷugu) to an individual, is said to have been accorded. Two copper plates record grants[256] of certain dues by merchants assembled at *Śivaganga* to an individual by name Kempadāsaiya of Kallūr for having successfully performed some miracle in front of the Ranganāthasvāmi temple at Seringapatam. A record[257] specifically refers to the services which the villagers of the hobḷi of *Mysūru Nagarada Vichāra* had to render for the annual car festival of God Lakshmikānta of Kaḷale, *i.e.*, free supply of articles necessary for pandals (*chappara*), hangings (*melukaṭṭu*), firewood (*aḍigabbu*), pots (*kumbāra*), betel leaves and vegetables (*elekāyi mélogara*), flowers, perfumes (*Hūvu gandha*) and other necessary things. The *Kandāchāra* officials of Belūr[258] granted, it is said, of their own accord, at the rate of one *haṇa* each (altogether 10 gūṭa varahas a year) for the *pudivaṭṭu* (fund) of God Chennakeśava of Belūr. The assembly of merchants of the different countries of the great *nād*, with the approval of the *seṭṭis*, executed a grant[259] to provide funds for the great car festival of God Venkaṭaramaṇa of Śrīnivāsapura. Devarājayya Arasu, the Gurikāra of Sakkarepaṭna, and other officials[260] allotted each 6½ Varahas out of their salary every year to provide for the expenses of *Vyāsapūjā* and Śankarāchārya's *Ārādhane* and of feeding Brahmans on those occasions. A

254 *E.C.*, IX KN. 94 (1662).

255 *E.C.*, IV (2) HG. 119 (1670).

256 *M.A.R.*, 1910-11, pp. 54-55 (1673).

257 *M.A.R.*, 1928, p. 53 (1711).

258 *E.C.*, V (1) BL. 29 (1717).

259 *E.C.*, IV (2) CH. 139 (1733).

260 *M.A.R.*, 1916, pp. 71-72 (1737).

nirūpa[261] addressed to Vīra Rāju, superintendent of the *Mahisūru nagara hobaḷi sīme*, directs him to afford all facilities to the representatives of the *Śringeri swāmiji* in their enquiries into the conduct of the disciples of the *maṭha* and in the collection of usual contributions from them. The *Rāṇuve* of Kuṇigal and the *Servegārs* and *Vantrigārs* of the militia (*Kandāchāra*) recorded[262] an annual assignment of 12 Varahas each out of their pay, for a *Rāmānujakūṭa* at Melkote, for the king's merit. A similar money grant[263] was made at one Varaha per head by the *Vantrigārs* and *Servegārs* of Dindigul for the service of God Gopinātha worshipped in the Śrīpādarāya Maṭha at Mulbagal. We have another interesting record[264] referring to the grant of lands by the farmers, inhabitants, Brahmans, merchants, temple-worshippers, holders of *mānyas*, mechanics and others, belonging to Ankanahaḷḷi-hosur to provide for the offerings and illuminations of God Somaśekhara. Other records[265] refer to the maintenance of temples, *satra* and *maṭha* in local parts. All these point not merely to the flourishing of corporate activities in the country but also to the attempts on the part of the government to maintain the same in full vigour.

An important aspect of social life during the period related to the donations, grants and works of public utility executed alike by officials (particularly Daḷavoys) and private individuals, indicating their liberal outlook. Daḷavoy Chāmappa made a grant[266] of the village of Ānevāla for God Mahābaleśvara, for the merit of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. We have a grant[267] of lands by Daḷavoy Basavalingaṇṇa for the offerings to God Panchalinga set up by him. In an inscription,[268] we are told that God Hanumantha was set up by a

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261 *M.A.R.*, 1916. p. 72 (1759).
262 *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 58 (1753).
263 *M.A.R.*, 1924, p. 55 (1755).
264 *E.C.*, IV (2) CH. 101 (1759).
265 *M.A.R.*, 1923, pp. 41-44, etc. (1760).
266 *E.C.*, IV (2) SR. 36 (1620).
267 *E.C.*, IV (2) TN. 13 (1633).
268 *E.C.*, IV (2) GU. 10 (1640).

private individual. Chenna Woḍeyar, son of Doḍḍayya of Kāṉikāranahaḷḷi, set up[269] God Gange Basaveśvara and erected a manṭapa. Daḷavoy Vikramarāya is recorded[270] to have made an offering at the Nanjangud temple. We are told[271] that an individual erected a stone fort together with the maṭha, manṭapa, pond and well, in Chennarāyapaṭṭaṇa. Doḍḍayya of that place, we note,[272] also built the bastion for storing cannon (*Pirangi maṭha*) and a temple for Rameśvara; set up a two-headed Basava and in front of it built a pond, recording a grant of land for God Hanumantha 'newly set up in the manṭapa in the middle of the village to which God Rāma pays a visit at the Rāma Navami festival." An epitaph[273] records a money grant to the temple treasury (*bhanḍāra*) by Pāyaṇṇa, disciple of Chārukīrti Paṇḍitāchārya. Basavaiya, son of Rājaiya Prabhu,[274] erected a temple and a *balipīṭha* for God Chandraśekhara. Alahisingaraiyangar[275] gave away the village of Birubaḷḷi to provide for the holding of a car festival, distribution of food and other ceremonies during the ten days of the ascendency of the sacred star of Emberumanār (Śri Rāmānujāchārya). Koṭṭuraiya[276] set up God Malleśa at *Karivana* (Talakādu). We have a grant[277] of some villages by Doḍḍa Devayya to God Kodanḍarāma. Daḷavoy Dāsarājayya and Timmapparājayya[278] set up Goddess Kalyāṇalakshmi and granted an *Archaksvasti*. We have a record[279] of the items of work turned out by Dāsarājayya, son of Kemparājayya, in relation to the fort at Nijagal:—1698:

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269 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 163 (1642).

270 *E.C.*, III (1) NJ. 9 (1644).

271 *E.C.*, V (1) CN. 160 (1648).

272 *E.C.*, *ibid.* (1648).

273 *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 56 (1666).

274 *E.C.*, XII TP. 72 (1669).

275 *M.A.R.*, 1924, p. 107 (1678) (Revised); *E.C.*, IV (2) KP. 45 (1678).

276 *M.A.R.*, 1912, p. 57 (1679).

277 *M.A.R.*, IV (2) SR. 14 (1686).

278 *M.A.R.*, XII TM. 45 (1699).

279 *M.A.R.*, IX NL. 65 (1705).

construction of stone fort at Nijagal ; 1706 : setting up God Vigneśvara ; 1714 : setting up God Narasimha ; 1718 : setting up Goddess Lakshmīdevi in the temple of Narasimha. A record[280] refers to a petition by Kappayya, son of Nanjappayya, granting a *puḍivaṭṭu* (fund) for the construction of a pond and manṭapa in front of the upper storey, for the spring water festival of God Chennarāya of Belūr. Two inscriptions[281] refer to the consecration of God Lakshmī Narasimha in Suragiridurga by Dāsarājayya and the purchase of *Sōmasāgara Agrahāra* for the worship of the God. Another inscription[282] records the erection of a manṭapa by the chief of Mūgūr. We have a grant[283] to the maṭha of Maruḷa Deva by Kaḷale Nanjarājayya. The tower of the Keśava temple (with a fine shining Kaḷaśa) was erected[284] by Venkaṭa of Belūr. The Daḷavoy copperplate grant[285] records the formation of an agrahāra (*Rāmachandrapura*) and the bestowal of the same on Brahmans by Devarājayya, the commander-in-chief of Krishṇarāja II. We have likewise references[286] to the bestowal of agrahāras by Kaḷale Nanjarāja and Pradhāni Venkatapathayya. A *nirūpa*[287] by Devarājayya refers to the grant of a village of 100 Varahas (in Krishṇarājanagara sthaḷa) to the temple of Lakshmīkānta at Kaḷale. Kaḷale Nanjarāja granted[288] a village for service on the occasion of the car festival of Lakshmīkānta and built the *gōpura* (tower) of Trineśvara temple at Mysore. He also made a gift[289] to Rameśvara temple at Rāmanāthapur.

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280 *M.A.R.*, V (1) BL. 29 (1717).

281 *M.A.R.*, XII TM. 46-48 (1719-20).

282 *M.A.R.*, IV (2) TN. 59 (1725).

283 *M.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 64 (1735).

284 *E.C.*, V (1) BL. 64 (1736).

285 *E.C.*, IV (2) TN. 63 (1749).

286 *E.C.*, IV (2) YD. 58 and *M.A.R.*. 1923, No. 58 (1741, 1744).

287 *M.A.R.*, 1910-11, pp. 55-6 (1750).

288 *M.A,R.*, 1909, p. 27 (1750) (1752).

289 *M.A.R.*, *ibid.* (1752).

Between 1750-65 we have records[290] of numerous gifts made by him to temples. It is significant to notice a gift[291] made by Hyder Ali to the *Gopāla Krishṇaswāmi* temple at Devanahaḷḷi.

(*To be continued.*)

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[290] *E.C.*, IV (2) NG. 200-265; *M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 59, etc. (1750-65).

[291] *M.A.R.*, 1913-14, pp. 50-1 (1760).

MIGRATION

[A Study of the Traditional Origin of the Dravidian Peoples of Travancore.]

By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A.

"Migration is of two kinds, migration from one section of a country to another or movement from rural districts to urban centres."[1] We propose to confine ourselves to a treatment of the larger aspect of migration from one section of a country to another.

"Migration, when reduced to its simplest form, is caused by an expulsion and an attraction, the former resulting from a dearth of food or from over-population which practically comes to the same thing. Sooner or later, a time comes, when the increase of the population of a country exceeds its normal food supply."[2] With migrating races, we associate enterprise, hopefulness and courage. It indicates a willingness to part with friends and relations to break with traditions and customs, and make adjustments to new conditions. The history of past migrations of peoples from the Chola and Pandyan kingdoms to Travancore does not disclose any evidence to prove that over-population or dearth of food supply was the cause of migration.

It has been suggested that many migrations have been undertaken for some political and religious reasons.[3] This is true of the Vellalas of Anjanad who came to the Travancore hills owing to political turmoils in Madura.

Immigration has become a world movement with improved means of transportation. It represents a shift in population from old thickly populated countries with few opportunities to new sparsely settled countries with many opportunities. Being a comparatively modern means of distribution of population, immigration does not fall within the ambit of this enquiry.

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[1] H. G. Duncan, *Race and Population Problems*.

[2] A. C. Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 1.

[3] Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem*, p. 300.

"Tradition is the product of conceptual thought. The products of the thinking of past generations are stored up, transmitted and retained. Additions are made to the store and improvements are made in the method of storing. Tradition is thus cumulative."[4] Progress in tradition may be stimulated by contact of man with man and race with race. The greater the contact, the more quickly and easily is existing mass of tradition disseminated throughout any society. The influence of contact of race with race has given rise to a large number of traditions in Southern India. It is now our endeavour to trace the course of past migrations of some of the Dravidian castes from the Chola and Pandyan kingdoms to Travancore through oral traditions now current among them.

1. The Īzhavas

The Īzhavas claim to have come to Travancore from Ceylon. The term 'Īzhava' is said to mean those living in 'Īzham' a corruption of Simhalam, one of the old names of Ceylon. Jaffna is said to have been known by the name of 'Īzham', and from this place the Īzhavas are believed to have originally proceeded to Malabar.[5]

Local tradition points out that Īzhathu Raja came to see Kerala, and found it suitable for growing cocoanut palm. It may be said in parenthesis that the cocoanut tree is not indigenous to India, and that cocoanut is not mentioned in the list of exports from Malabar given in the Periplus in the first century A.D. Īzhathu Raja is said to have asked the ruler whether he would give some land for cultivation of the cocoanut palm. The request was granted and four men came. They planted the cocoanut palm, which grew so well that they were respected by others. Being bachelors, they married with the assent of the Raja. He who married a Sudra woman belonged to Mātambi illom, while the man who married a Mārār woman belonged to Yogīśwara illom. He who married a Variyar

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[4] Carr-Saunders, *The Population Problem*, p. 414.

[5] Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, p. 392.

woman belonged to Kalluvazhi illom. Lastly, the man who married a Brahman woman belonged to Mūthanvāka illom.

It so happened that the Raja of Īzhathunad was getting no return from his gardens, and he ascertained the cause and recalled the men. Their wives and children remained and they came to be known as Īzhavas.

The Syrian Christians are said to have a tradition "that the Īzhavas were invited to settle on the West Coast at their suggestion".

2. The Shānāns

The Shānāns are found in the southern taluks of Travancore and are most numerous in the Tamil districts adjacent to Ceylon. Shānān has taken the place of Īzhavan in the Tamil districts and in South Travancore.

From a few stray hints in Tamil literature and tradition, we infer the Shānāns belong to a wave of war-like adventurers, who came from North India. The original tract is said to be between the Krishna and the Godavari rivers. Bishop Caldwell thinks they were immigrants from the north of Ceylon. The Shānāns say they are descended from the Chera, Chola and Pandyan kings. Shānān is not found in early literature. "In the inscriptions of Raja Raja Chola (984–1013 A.D.), toddy-drawers are known as Īzhavas. The Chudamani Nikandu of the sixteenth century adds Samudikar from which the name Shānān arose."[7]

As late as the thirteenth century, the Shānāns were known as Īzhuvans, and "a tax called Īzhaputchi was levied by the Tamil kings on all toddy-drawers. They were surely a polluting caste as they are now".[8]

The Shānāns seem to have migrated into the southern taluks of Travancore from the Tinnevelly district. Eraniel has the largest number of them. They are found in Vilavancode, Agasteeswaram, Kalkulam and Neyyattinkara taluks.

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[6] Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, p. 368.

[7] M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 72.

3. The Paravars (Bharatars)

The Paravars were once a very powerful people and gained ascendency over others by their knowledge of navigation. The Tamil Paravars are fishermen with headquarters at Tuticorin. The Malayala Paravars are shell-collectors, lime-burners and gymnasts, and their women act as midwives. They are found along the coastal regions of South Travancore and inland elsewhere.

The original home of the Paravars is said to be Ayodhya. It appears that, prior to the Mahabharata war, they inhabited the territory bordering on the Yamuna or Jumna. It has been suggested that the West Coast Paravars are the descendants of those who fled from Tinnevelly. Inscriptions found in Cape Comorin testifies to the high social status of the Paravars. An inscription about 800 years old in the temple at Cape Comorin testifies to the high power and position of their chief Villavayan. They formerly lived at Kumarimuttam and were converted by Rev. Vaz and St. Francis Xavier.

The Varnava Mitram dated 15th January 1106 says that Varnavar includes Pathiyan, Mannan, Ettali, Purathon, Velan, Neriyan and Paravan, and that the difference is occupational. In Mavelikara, Quilon and Kuttanad, they are called Mannans, Pathiyans in Thiruvella, Purathons and Ettali in Vazhur, Meenatam and Cheruvalli, Neriyam, in Changanacherri and Haripad. They are called Paravar in Kottayam, Vycome and Vadayar.

4. The Sackaravars

The Sackaravar community is found in Vilavancode, Kalkulam and Agasteeswaram taluks of the State. Besides farming and trade, weaving is their occupation.

Tradition has it that they originally came from Kaveripoompattanam, an emporium of trade in the old Chola kingdom consisting of Trichinopoly, Tanjore and South Arcot, and that they were then called Saiva Chetty Vellalas. It is said that a king at Kaveripoompattanam borrowed so much

money from his minister (Kāviti) that he hit upon the device of marrying one of his daughters to the son of his minister, when he could not return the money. The descendants of the married couple were disowned by the Saiva Chetty community, and they developed into another community called Kaveri-pattanakar and Kaveriyar. By the last name, they became confused with Kāvatis, barbers to the Nadar community in South India.

5. The Kammālars

The Kammālars are divided into two classes : the Tamil Kammālars and Malayala Kammālars.

(*a*) *The Tamil Kammālars.*—The Tamil Kammālars are found in South Travancore and in Shencottah. They are also found in small numbers in other parts of the State.

Acccording to Viswapuranam, God Parameswara opened his third eye, when Viswabrahma was born. He had five sons, Janaka, Sanathana, Apuvanasa, Pratnasa and Swarnasa. They are the originators of the five crafts. Some were engaged in smithy work and were called *Manu*. Others devoted themselves to carpentry and were called *Maya*. Some were engaged in stone-carving. They were called *Silpis*. Those who did metal work were called *Twastras*, while those who made ornaments were known as *Visvagnas*. The modern Kammālars claim to be their descendants. The five sections wear the sacred thread and interdine and intermarry among themselves.

"The Tanjore inscriptions of the great Raja Raja Chola dated 1004 A.D. shew that the Paraiyas, Kammalas, Īzhuvas and Vannans were all considered polluting castes, as they are at present in Malabar and Travancore."[9] "The five artisans, potters and weavers were much requisitioned by all castes, high and low, and these industries consequently tended to bring them in closer contact with the Brahmans. With the rise of temples and religious institutions, the social status of these classes began to improve. Brahmans humoured them and made them willing workers in the new social organization.

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[9] M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 77.

All these were granted the privilege of wearing the sacred thread."[10]

(*b*) *The Malayala Kammālars.*—The Kammālars of Malabar and the Tamil districts must have descended "from the same stock of Naga-Dravidian artisans, mentioned in early Tamil literature and inscriptions, though the former retained their original distance pollution, while the latter has risen so far in the social scale as to claim equality with the Brahmins."[11] "Epigraphic records point to the existence of five classes of Kammālars in Malabar as early as the ninth century A.D. as a Syrian Christian grant refers to them as Aimvazhi Kammālars."[12] They do not claim to be Brahmans nor do they wear the sacred thread. They accept the position of a polluting caste, and have no entry into temples.

It is said one of the Perumals pressed the Kammālars to marry women of the washerman caste, which they refused. They went away to Ceylon and refused to return in spite of entreaties. At last the Īzhava king sent some Kammālars to Malabar. Even to this day, in Kammālar marriages, presents from Īzhavas are accepted. They are also invited for dinner. In Travancore the five artisan classes are the Asari, Musari, Thattan, Kollan and Kallan. Though the names signify their occupations, they have crystallized themselves into different sub-castes having no interdining or intermarriage with each other. The Tamil Kammālars neither interdine nor intermarry with the Malayala Kammālars.

6. The Velars

In former times, a sacrifice was conducted by the Devas, who placed five vessels of five different metals on the sacrificial fire; the vessels began to melt. The Devas were in a quandary, and they sought the help of the Sage Kulala, who was doing penance under a banyan tree. He made vessels by means of Vishnu's chakra. The descendants of the sage were called

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[10] M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 74.

[11] M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, pp. 88 to 89.

[12] Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 136.

Kulālar or Vēlar (those who puddle clay and make pots). They wear the sacred thread. They are said to have come from Tinnevelly to South Travancore and to Shencottah.

The Vēlars were much requisitioned by all castes, and their occupation brought them into closer contact with the Brahmans to whom they owe their elevation and the privilege of wearing the sacred thread. The Malayala Vēlars do neither interdine nor intermarry with the Tamil Vēlars.

7. The Vāniyans

The Vāniyans claim to be Vaisyas and quote the passage from Purushasukta in support of their contention. Tradition has it that Takkarāsan had 27 stars (damsels) who were married to the moon, who was fond of Karthiga and Rohini. This enraged the others who complained to Takkarāsan. He cursed the moon, and it was all darkness. The Devas complained to the God Paramesvara, who asked them to fetch Vākkuvamuni. The sage was told that all this trouble was the result of his leading a life of single blessedness, and he was desired to marry to dispel darkness from the world. He said he would produce 1,000 children without marriage and so he did. They were taken care of by the Goddess Sarasvati. It is said they came from Chola kingdom to Travancore. The king wanted a pretty girl of theirs for marriage. This was refused and they migrated to the south.

It is said "castes like Ambattan, Vaniyan and Vannan were originally occupational guilds, consisting of peoples from various tribes, which have in course of time hardened into distinct castes."[13] The Vāniyans are oil-pressers. For some obscure reason, "Manu classed oil-pressing as a base occupation, and all followers are held in small esteem, and in Tinnevelly, they are not allowed to enter the temples."[14] Trade in oil is the occupation of the people of the caste who assert that they are Vaisyas.

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[13] M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 67.

[14] Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, pp. 312 to 315.

8. The Vairāvi Pandarams

The Vairāvis were formerly known as Vairāgis which later assumed the corrupt form of Vairāvi. They claim to have come from Madura about 500 years ago. The story goes that one of the priests of Suchindram temple made away with some of the ornaments of the deity to the present British India. He was intercepted at Madura by the Vairāvis, who recovered the ornaments and took them to Suchindram. In gratitude thereof, the temple authorities made a grant of 23 Kottas of land to 23 men whose descendants enjoy same even to this day. From Suchindram, they are said to have spread throughout Travancore and are now found in Nedumangad, Kottarakara, Agasteeswaram, Mavelikara and Shencottah. They have temple service in Nagercoil, Cape Comorin and Paraka. They talk Tamil in Agasteeswaram, and Malayalam further north of Nedumangad.

In the Madras Census Report of 1901, "Vairavi is retained as a sub-caste of Pandaram, and they are found only in Tinnevelly district, where they are measurers of grains and poojaris in village temples."[15]

9. The Vellālas

The Vellālas are found as isolated units by different names in Anjanad, Thodupuzha, Rani, Chirakadavu, Shencottah and Nāṉjanād. There is a general consensus of opinion that they came to Travancore either from Madura or Tinnevelly.

(*a*) *The Vellālas of Anjanad.*—The Vellālas of Anjanad trace their migration to Travancore to the story of Kovalan and Kannaki, who have been immortalised in the Epic of the Anklet. Briefly told, the story runs as follows:—In the city of Pukar *alias* Kaveripoompattanam lived two merchant princes, Mahasattuvan and Manayakkan. It was arranged between them that Kovalan, the son of the former, should be married to Kannaki, the daughter of the latter. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony.

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[15] Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, p. 58.

Some time elapsed, when Kovalan felt a passion for Madavi, deserted his home and loving wife, and spent some years with Madavi. He lost all his wealth. Wiser counsels prevailed in the end, and he returned to his lovely wife. He proposed that they should go to Madura, the capital of the Pandyans.

The idea behind the move was that Kovalan was to sell one of her anklets and with the proceeds retrieve their lost fortune by trade. To this Kannaki agreed, and they reached Madura. Leaving his wife in the home of a shepherdess, he walked in the streets of Madura to dispose of one of the anklets. He met a goldsmith, Vannithattan, a rogue of the first water, who was suspected of having stolen an anklet from the Palace.

On seeing the anklet, he found it a capital opportunity for clearing himself of the suspicion against him, went straight to the Palace, and informed the king that he had found out the thief, who stole the anklet. The king ordered Kovalan to be beheaded without an enquiry, and it was done promptly.

Before leaving home, Kovalan had left a sandal mark on a lime and told his devoted wife that, if it faded, she may infer that some mishap had befallen to him. Kannaki found it faded, and she forthwith went after her husband. She came to know of his death without enquiry. She flung to the winds her innate modesty, walked boldly to the Palace, and rang the bell of justice.

This alarm aroused the suspicion of the hall-porter that something had gone wrong. The unusual apparition of a young injured woman was reported to the king. Kannaki proved to the hilt to the king that the anklet for which her husband was killed was hers. The queen corroborated the statement.

Kannaki then invoked a curse that Madura be consumed with fire for the remissness of the king. A large number of Vellālas and Kollans are said to have fled to the Travancore hills *via* Korangani, and that the hamlet of Kottathatti marks the signpost of their past migrations. At the instance of the Vellālas, the Kollans were extirpated, and the Vellālas settled down in different parts of the Anjanad valley.

As stated above, the story is called the Epic of the Anklet by Mr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar in his *Celebrities of Tamil Literature.* It is related in Chilappathikaram and is traced to the first century of the Christian Era.[16] It is, therefore, probable that the Vellālas came to Anjanad in the first century A.D.

(*b*) *The Vellālas of Thodupuzha.*—There are two divisions of the Vellālas in the mountainous taluk of Thodupuzha. They are known by the names of Tenkanchi and Kumbakonam Vellālas. The former are called Anjuttikar (five hundred), and the latter Munnuttikar (three hundred) in reference to the number of families which originally settled down in Thodupuzha.

The Tenkanchi Vellālas appear to have originally come from Tenkasi taluk of Tinnevelly. It is said to be due to the demand of a Vaduka ruler for the hand of a woman of the community in marriage.

The Kumbakonam Vellālas believe they migrated to Travancore about the commencement of the Malabar Era from Kumbakonam in Tanjore.

(*c*) *The Vellālas of Shencottah.*—An interesting account of their origin and migration is given by the Vellālas of Shencottah, who refer me to Arunachalapuranam. It is said Pārvati asked Paramasivan whether there would be light in this world, but for the Sun and Moon. Paramesvara said that the Sun and Moon owed their light to the lustre of his two eyes, whereupon Pārvati shut his two eyes, and it was all darkness. She felt sorry for her action, and Paramesvara showed her light through his third eye which was only visible to her.

Pārvati sought the forgiveness of her Lord and prayed to him to dispel darkness. He asked her to go to Thiruvalur and offer prayers to him. She wanted some help for her pooja, and he asked her to bathe, offer ablutions, and call out 'இழணைஜா'. She did so, when sprang the Vellālas, the Saiva Pillais or Gangakula Saivar.

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[16] T. Chelvakesavaya Mudaliar, *Kannaka Charitam,* pp. 122-124.

From Thiruvalur they spread over to Shencottah and other parts of South India. There are now four divisions :—

1. Puvasyar—The Vellālas.
2. Dhanavasyar—The Chettis.
3. Karkathans—The Karakat Pillais.
4. Mudaliars.

(*d*) *The Tamil Sudras.*—The Tamil Sudras state they came from Tinnevelly *via* Shencottah and settled themselves in Kaipattur, Kottangal, Cheruvalli, Chirakadavu and Mattakara. They claim that they form one of the branches of the Nānchinād Vellālas but there is now no inter-marriage between them. There is a tradition that one of the kings of Tinnevelly sought the hand of one of their women. To avoid any possible clash, they left bag and baggage and settled down in different parts of the Quilon and Kottayam divisions.

They pride themselves that they have no connection with the Nayars, as they were matriarchal. The women used to wear shelas (coloured cloth). This is now disappearing.

(*e*) *The Nānjanād Vellālas.*—The Nānjanād Vellālas have quite an interesting account of their migration to Travancore. Once a shepherd who was living to the east of Aramboli desired to celebrate the marriage of his daughter Aūvai. The celestial yogini commanded her devotees, Cheran, Cholan and Pandyan to go to the spot and conduct the ceremony themselves. So it was done. When they asked for permission to come back to their countries, they were told that the wild region lying to the west of Muppandal was a very fertile territory, and they could assume sovereignty. Subsequently, many families from Pandy migrated to this land and cleared the jungle by degrees, colonised it, and gave it the name of Nānjanād.[17]

(*f*) *Kandi Vellālas.*—The Kandi Vellālas aver they came from Kandi in Ceylon. They were an indigent people who thought they could make better living in Travancore. They

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17 V. Nagamiah, *The Travancore State Manual.*

came and settled down in Thamarakulam, Rajakamangalam and other places.

The earliest Tamil works tell us that there were two sections among the Velirs or pure Dravidians, the cultivating and non-cultivating. "In the earliest Tamil Grammar extant, Tolkappiyan, in the first and second century B.C. singles out the Vellālas and says they have no other calling than the cultivation of the soil. There he does not say they are Sudras, but indirectly implies that the ordinary Vellālas should be reckoned as Sudras, and that those Vellālas who were kings should be honoured as Kshatriyas."[18]

In the Sendan-Divakaran of the 11th or 12th century, the occupation of the Vellālas is given as (1) tilling, (2) cow-breeding, (3) trade, (4) playing on drums, (5) weaving, (6) service to Brahmans.[19] In the Madras Census Report, 1871, they are described as a peace-loving, frugal and industrious people, and have no equals in the world in the cultivation of rice, betel and tobacco. They form the back-bone of Nānjanād. "By general consent," says Mr. Francis, "the first place in social esteem among the Tamil Sudra castes is awarded to them."[20]

10. The Pattaryars

The Pattāryars are found in Sherthalai and Vaikom taluks as well as in South Travancore. They claim to be Vaisyas and state they were once known as "Vadagangamyars which is indicative of the fact that their original home was on the northern banks of the Ganges."[21]

It is said they came to Kerala from Conjeevaram during the time of Cheraman Perumal for the purpose of providing him with chitrapada pattu or Mantravatsram on the occasion of his coronation. They first settled down in the Cochin State at Thiruvanchikulam. It is said they then came to

18 Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, p. 369.

19 M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 65.

20 *The Madras Census Report*, 1901.

21 V. Nagamiah, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, p. 381.

Travancore at the instance of Vadakumkur Raja, and settled themselves in the taluks of Vaikom and Sherthalai.

It is also said that they formerly resided in Quilon and emigrated to the south and colonised at Kazhakuttam, Eraniel and Kottar.

According to the Pattāryars of the north, the term Pattāryar means the Aryas who made silk. Till about fifty years ago, they had the title of "Chetty". This is now abandoned in favour of "Pillai". There are three divisions of Pattāryas :—[22]

1. Kerala Pattāryas got down from North India.
2. Kalakad Pattāryas.
3. Kottar Pattāryas.

This classification leaves out of account the Pattāryas of the north. They do not identify themselves with the Chaliars whom they consider to be inferior to them.

11. Krishnavagakars

The Krishnavagakars form a class of Sudras in South Travancore. Tradition traces their origin to a place called Ampadi, the place of Sri Krishna's birth and early boyhood, whence they are said to have migrated first to Conjeevaram, and thence to Travancore. Seventy-two families are said to have settled themselves in Travancore. It seems they presented to the then king of Travancore an image of Sri Krishna, which they had brought with them from North India. The Maha Raja commanded same to be placed in the Thiruvampadi temple in the pagoda of Padmanabhasvami. Their leader was called Anantha Padmanabha Kshetra Pallava Rayan as a mark of royal favour. The management of the temple of Krishna was presented to them and they were permitted to stay in Vanchiyoor.[23]

From the foregoing account, it may be observed that the Kammālars, the Shānāns, the Vēlars, the Vairāvi Pandārams

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[22] V. Nagamiah, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, p. 382.

[23] V. Nagamiah, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, pp. 370 to 371.

and the Vellālas came to Travancore from Madura and Tinnevelly. The Sackravars, the Vaniyans, the Pattāryans and the Krishnavagakars came from the Chola kingdom, and the Īzhavas and Kandi Vellālas from Ceylon. The migration of these peoples was influenced by political turmoil or social difficulties. Some of these traditions may have been manufactured by the Brahmans to elevate the status of the low but serviceable tribes of the Dravidian race or by the busy and ingenious artisans, who scarcely let slip an opportunity to elevate their low position. They are the modern representatives of the Dravidians.

KARUVŪR OR VANJIMĀNAGARAM

By S. V. Viswanatha, M.A.

One of the many disputed points in the geography of Tamil literature collectively known under the name of *Śaṅgam* works, over which no decision has, as yet, been reached, is the location of Karuvūr or Vañji, the capital of the Chera kingdom. The Chera country was believed in ancient Tamil classics to be 80 *kādam*[1] in extent and to have been bounded on the North by the Palni hill, on the East by Seṅgōṭṭai (Shencottah in the Travancore State), on the West by Kallikōṭṭai (Calicut in the Malabar district) and on the South by the sea. It included therefore Malabar, Cochin and Travancore on the west coast and extended into the interior to comprise the adjoining districts of Coimbatore and Salem and a portion of Trichinopoly. Hence, opinion as to the locality where the capital city of the Chera kingdom lay swung between the modern town of Karūr in the Trichinopoly district, now a station on the South Indian Railway between Erode and Trichinopoly and Tiruvañjikkaḷam in the Cochin State.

In the *Akanānūṟu* (93) Karuvūr is described as having been situated on the banks of the An Porunai which is the same as Amarāvati, a tributary of the Kaveri, flowing beside Karūr. There is reference in this text to "heaps of sand on the banks of the river of which Karuvūr is mentioned as the principal ford".[2]

The two odes 36 and 39 of the *Puṟanānūṟu* deal with an invasion by a Chōḷa King called Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavan (who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam) of the dominion of a Chera "who owned mighty chariots and was lord of the bow which he caused to be

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[1] The entire area of Tamiḻakam was 180 *kādams*, of which Pāṇḍyanāḍu was 56, Chōḷa 24 and Tondai-nāḍu, 20.

[2] Tirumā viyanakark Karuvūr munṟuṟait-teṉṉī ruyarkaraik kuvai iya taṉ Ān Porunai maṇalinum palavē (last 3 lines).

carved on the Imaya "[3] and the subseqent destruction of the Chera capital which is praised as "vañji that never fades ".[4] The former of the two odes refers to the white sands of the river An Porunai.[5]

The *Śilappadikāram* gives a detailed account of an invasion of North India projected by Cheran Śeṅguṭṭuvan (Canto XXV; *Padirrppattu*, 50, 4-8). The main object of the expedition was to procure a sacred stone from the Gangetic region, which was to be deified as Kaṇṇakī in his capital city. It is stated in the epic that the Chera started from his capital Vañji and encamped on a sandy mount on the banks of the river Periyār, where he was given a treat of delightful music by the wild tribes who also brought with them rich presents of various kinds.[6] The river Periyār rising from the Ānamalais in the Coimbatore district courses through a portion of Coimbatore and Malabar and the Cochin State and empties itself into the sea at Tiruvañjikkaḷam near Cranganore. It does not flow by the modern town of Karūr. Besides the description of the country that follows in the epic pertains to the Malabar district. Among the tributes that were taken to the Chera by the hill-men were many products of Malabar, such as tusks of elephants, aghil and sandal-wood, mango and jack fruits, honey and edible roots like *kūvai* and *kavalai*, pepper and cardamom and areca and cocoanuts. The town was also visited by Maṇimekalai who witnessed the temple erected there for her step-mother Kaṇṇakī by Śeṅguṭṭuvan Chera. On these grounds, Nachchinārkkiniyar, the commentator of the epic, annotating the relevant lines, identified Vañji with Tiruvañjikkaḷam.

Thus Vañji in the epic stories refers to Tiruvañjikkaḷam; while in the odes of the *Akam* and *Puṛam* which must have been

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3 Imayam śūṭṭiya vēma viṛpoṛi māṇavinai neṭuntēr vānavan.

4 *Vāṭāvañji*. The town is compared to a flower of the same name. Vāṭāvañji vāṭṭunin pīṭukeḻu nōnṛāḷ pṭāuṅ kālē (*Puṛanāṉūṛu*, 39, last 2 lines).

5 Taṇṇān porunai veṇmaṇar (l. 5).

earlier in composition than the epics, the reference is to the town of Karūr on the banks of the Amarāvati.[6]

In this connection the evidence afforded by an epigraph, No. 335 of 1928 in the Madras collection, found in the temple at Nerūr, 6 miles from Karūr, is of interest. It mentions Karuvūr *alias* Vañjimānagaram as situated in Veṅgāḷa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Vīra Chōḷa valanāḍu. The inscription lends support to the statement met with in the early Tamil odes that Karuvūr was identical with Vañji. On p. 50 of the report on South Indian Epigraphy that I issued for 1928 I pointed out this fact, and had to be satisfied then with making the observation, 'the point now to be settled is whether Karuvūr or Tiruvañjikkaḷam was the original Vañji.' The Brāhmī inscription copied from the caverns near Pugalūr which is close to Karūr and Nerūr and which was reviewed by me along with the previous inscription is interesting as disclosing the name of one of the residents of the Buddhist order (*araṭṭār*) as Kōśipan *Ātan*. This inscription has to be assigned to the same age as the other Brāhmī inscriptions of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. met with in caverns of South India. Here we have the earliest mention in literature or epigraphy of this word *Ātan* as the name of a person; and it reminds us of the title that was assumed by some of the Chera kings of the *Śaṅgam* age, such as Udiyan Chēral Ātan, Perun Chēral Ātan and Neḍun Chēral Ātan. It is therefore clear that in the region where Karūr is located the name *Ātan* was current even in the last few centuries of the pre-Christian era. This fact also may lend some support to the view that Karuvūr (Karūr)

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[6] Dr. Caldwell was perhaps the first to guess at the identification of the Chera capital with Karūr, perhaps, not knowing or going against the view of the commentator (*Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, 96 f). But, his was only a conjecture based on similarity of names and not based on any texts. Mr. Kanakasabhai in his *Tamils 1800 Years Ago* cited the *Śilappadikāram* and its commentator against the Bishop, but would have the place not at Tiruvañjikkaḷam but removed to a spot some 28 miles east by north of Cochin (pp. 15, 20).

should have been the earlier seat of government of the family of kings who bore the appellation "Ātan". It is thus clear that Karūr should have been the original capital of the Cheras, appearing under the name Vañjimānagaram. In the period of the Tamil epics, especially after the inroad on the Chera capital by the Chōḷas, there was probably the foundation of the city of Tiru-Vañjikkaḷam and the shifting of the capital to this new town. The original Vañji was thus Karūr and Tiruvañjikkaḷam was only a copy of it.

DRAVIDIC SANDHI.

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

One of the most important chapters of the phonology of Dravidian is concerned with the rules of sound-change arising from the junction of different sounds (vowels and consonants) in combinative contexts. The phenomena associated with Dravidian *sandhi* are different from those of Sanskrit, and indigenous grammarians have recorded the literary rules in connection with all the cultivated speeches of the south of India: Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayâḷam. The treatment in these old grammars has in each speech been based on the peculiar conditions and features prevailing therein. No attempt has so far been made anywhere to classify these rules on a comparative basis. Caldwell whose pioneer work on the

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Note.—Some of the texts and grammars cited or referred to in the course of this essay are the following :—

Tamil

PN — Puṛanânûṛu
PP — Pattuppâṭṭu
P — Padit't'ruppattu
K — Kuṛaḷ
M — Maṇimêgalai
Śi — Śilappadigâram
TE — Tolkâppiyam, Eḷuttu
TŚ — Tolkâppiyam, Śol
N — Nannûl
IV — Ilakkaṇa viḷakkam

Malayâḷam

RC — Rāmacaritam
KR — Kaṇṇaśśa Râmâyaṇam
Bhg — Bhagavad-gîta-p-pâṭṭu
US — Uṇṇunîli sandeśam
L — Lîlâtilakam
KP — Keraḷa Pâṇinîyam
OT — Kuñjan's Ôṭṭam-tuḷḷal
TAS — Travancore Archæological Series

Kannaḍa

JBh — Jaimini Bhārata
CA — Canarese Anthology
Bhbh— Bhâṣâbhûṣaṇa
Śmd — Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa
ŚŚ — Śabdânuśâsana

Telugu

AK — Atharvaṇa Kârikâvaḷi
AC — Ândhra śabda cintâmaṇi

comparative study of Dravidian is in several respects a masterpiece of analysis and synthesis, has failed to do justice to the subject of comparative *sandhi* in as much as he had not bestowed any attention on the evidence furnished by the indigenous grammarians of Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayâḷam. His knowledge of these speeches was derived entirely from the grammars written by European scholars who laid greater stress on the more modern and colloquial aspects than on the ancient (and, therefore, historically important) features recorded in the indigenous grammars. Many an error has thus crept into Caldwell's work. Several important linguistic features which might have helped him to arrive at safer conclusions remained unknown to him.

A comparative study of the *sandhi* phenomena in the different Dravidian speeches would not only illustrate the existence of many common features beside characteristic variations, but would also provide one with the key to the morphology of certain forms. In this connection, it is important to remember that the non-literary Dravidian dialects of Central India do not fail to mirror some of the more important features of *internal* consonantal *sandhi* in south Dravidian.

The *sandhi* rules, elaborately recorded by indigenous grammarians and meticulously observed in literary texts from the earliest known times in each speech, do not hold good in many contexts in the respective colloquials. A comparison of the literary rules and the colloquial features, particularly in Tamil and in Telugu, would reveal a certain degree of standardisation in the formulation of the literary rules. The rigidity of the *sandhi* rules in Sanskrit has (in the words of Whitney) "been suspected of being at least in part an erection into unnecessary and invariable rules of what in the living language were only optional practices, as indicated by the evidence of the older Vedic texts and the derived Prakritic dialects in both of which some of the rules are often violated." Such 'Kunsteleien und willkürliches Schematisiren'

appear to have (in some measure) cropped up in the formulation of the rules of literary *sandhi* in the south Dravidian speeches also, in view of the differences observable between the literary rules and the colloquial usage.

The operation of *sandhi* in Dravidian is met with in all the three contexts mentioned by Pâṇini in connection with Sanskrit: combinations of suffixes with roots or stems, word-compounds or *samâsas*, and the junction of sounds in sentence-constructions. For practical purposes, one can mark off a scheme like the following:

1. Internal *sandhi*, affecting inflexions, conjugations and derivatives.

2. External *sandhi*, operating in word-compounds and in syntactical sequences.

While internal *sandhi* and *samâsa-sandhi* are prominent in all the cultivated speeches of Dravidian, the changes met with in syntactical sequences or sentence-constructions are far more varied and conspicuous in literary Tamil and literary Telugu than in Kannaḍa and in Malayâḷam. In the non-literary dialects (Tôda, Baḍaga, etc., of the south, and in Kûi, Kûvi, Gôṇḍi of the north) internal *sandhi* alone is met with in varying degrees of prominence. The colloquial varieties of the cultivated speeches reflect internal *sandhi* changes prominently, and *samâsa-sandhi* less prominently, while sentence *sandhi* is only found in a few types.

Tamil grammarians have, from an early period, marked off the three types of *sandhi* as (i) *urupu-puṇarcci* (suffixal *sandhi*) and *vigudi-p-puṇarcci* (conjugational *sandhi*), together constituting internal *sandhi*; (ii) *togai-t-toḍar-p-puṇarcci* (*samâsa-sandhi*); (iii) *togâ-t-toḍar-p-puṇarcci* (*sandhi* in loose syntactical sequences or sentence-constructions). The Tamil classification is more than of passing interest in as much as this scheme with its sub-divisions and ramifications is particularly adapted to the explanation (in several cases) of the rules of *sandhi* in literary Tamil. The *rationale* of these rules and their exceptions would become clear only with the help of this

elaborate classification which has been popularised by the grammarians from an early period.[1]

These cases of *togai-t-toḍar* (or *samâsas*) and *togâ-t-toḍar* (or loose syntactical sequences) together constitute all conceivable cases of verbal and phrasal combinations in Tamil sentences for the purposes of *sandhi*. This classification is further adapted to the rules of *sandhi* by another important grouping, *viz.*, the *vêt't'rumai-vaḷi* constituted of all word-compounds (I, vi, footnote) in which the constituents show "casal" relationship; and *alvaḷi* in which are included all compounds other than the "casal" ones (*i.e.*, I, i, ii, iii, iv and v, footnote) and all loose syntactical sequences (II above). The psychological distinction here introduced, is of great significance in the explanation of a number of *sandhi* phenomena in literary Tamil.

Malayâḷam which is a speech evolved from a dialect of mediæval Tamil current in the west coast, does not show the complexity of the rules of Tamil literary *sandhi* in word-compounds and in loose syntactical sequences, though many old changes are mirrored in the forms used by old Malayâḷam writers. The Tamil classification therefore has not been adopted by Malayâḷam grammarians. Lîlâtilakam, the fourteenth-century Malayâḷam grammar, does not classify

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[1] *toḍar* (word-sequence)

I. *togai-t-toḍar* (word-compounds)	II. *togâ-t-toḍar* (syntactical sequences)
(1) *vinai-t-togai* (formed of verb-roots and nouns)	(1) *eḷuvây-t-toḍar* (subject followed by verb)
(2) *paṇbu-t-togai* (qualificatory words followed by nouns)	(2) *vinai-mut't'ru-t-toḍar* (finite verbs followed by subject)
(3) *ummai-t-togai* (copulative compounds)	(3) *peyar-ecca-t-toḍar* (relative participle followed by noun)
(4) *uvamai-t-togai* (comparisonal compounds)	(4) *vinai-y-ecca-t-toḍar* (past participle followed by verb)
(5) *anmoḷi-t-togai* (bahuvrîhis)	(5) *viḷi-t-toḍar* (vocatives followed by other words)
(6) *vêt't'rumai-t-togai* (casal compounds)	(6) other *toḍar-nilai* cases with *uriccol, iḍaiccol* and *aḍukku*.

samâsas, according to the Tamil scheme, while modern grammars like KP have adjusted the classification of *samâsas* in Malayâḷam to the Sanskrit scheme, as far as possible.

While *pada-madhya-sandhi* and *padânta-sandhi* have been recognized for Kannaḍa by indigenous grammarians,[2] the rules and the exceptions in Kannaḍa do not involve the complexities of Tamil. The classification of *sandhi* contexts in Kannaḍa has therefore been made on a basis adapted to the phenomena observable in this speech.

The rules of *sandhi* in literary Telugu, while comparable to those of other Dravidian speeches, are framed altogether from a unique standpoint. The conditions in which common *sandhi* features crop up are classified on a basis exclusively suited to this speech. The rules of *druta sandhi* and *kaḷa sandhi* have been elaborately formulated by grammarians from the time of Cintâmaṇi and Atharvaṇa-kârikâvali onwards. These relate in the main to sentence-contexts and in some cases to *samâsas*. Though, as I have shown elsewhere[3] in connection with the *druta sandhi*, these rules are only a generalisation from the view of Telugu, of certain fundamentally Dravidian features inherited by Telugu, the rigour with which they have been prescribed for literary compositions in Telugu is something unique.

I may observe here that the indigenous grammarians have in all these speeches laid more stress on external *sandhi* than on internal *sandhi*. The phenomena of internal *sandhi*, particularly those connected with the formation of noun-derivatives and tense-stems in the different speeches and with the *aupavibhaktikântamulu* in Telugu, fall within the province of the history of phonology and morphology. The rules relating to these form a subject for deduction or inference, and therefore they have not occupied the attention of the indigenous grammarians to the same extent to which the *sandhi* features of word-compounds and syntactical sequences have.

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[2] *Smd.* 50.

[3] *Q.J.M.S.*

I propose in this paper (*a*) to classify the rules regarding *sandhi* changes in the different speeches in internal and external contexts with reference both to the literary and to the colloquial varieties;

(*b*) to interpret the phonetic and the psychological facts underlying the rules and the exceptions;

(*c*) to make a comparative examination of interdialectal agreements and divergences; and

(*d*) to envisage the significance of some of the rules in the explanation of the morphology of certain forms.

In the classification of the *sandhi* rules, the method of grouping that I have adopted is the following:

1. Junction of vowels and vowels.
2. Junction of vowels and consonants.
3. Junction of consonants and vowels.
4. Junction of consonants and consonants.
5. Augments in *sandhi* positions.

(*To be continued.*)

POPULATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

By C. S. K. Rao Saheb

To estimate the population of a country where statistics are not available, recourse is generally had to two sources of information, *viz.*, extent of cultivation and the strength of armies. If we assume that the main line of Indian Agriculture has persisted during the last three centuries, then area under crops is a rough index of rural population. The statistics preserved in the *Ain-i-Akbari* is sufficient "to give a general idea of the extent of cultivation in those provinces of the Mughal Empire in which the regulation system of revenue assessment had been effectively introduced."[1] Mr. Moreland concludes that "the figures would justify 40 millions"[2] but suggests that the population may have been 30 millions as the famine which occurred in 1596 must have reduced the population considerably. We shall leave out of account for the present famines and their effects on population. The statistics of extent of cultivation preserved in the *Ain* justify a population of 40 millions from Multan to Monghyr, where the regulation or Zabti system of revenue assessment prevailed.

Mr. Moreland altogether omitted the evidence of the local forces which would also help us to estimate the population of the Empire. Abul Fazl gives the totals of these forces, infantry as well as cavalry for each *subah* and in many cases for sarkars and mahals as well. These are not vague conventional figures, but exact figures probably based on a regular census. Census was not a novelty in Mughal India. That a census actually took place is known from the *Akbarnamah*.[3] It is true that in course of time errors may have crept into these

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1 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 20.

2 *Ibid.*, Note, p. 20.

3 *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 509.

figures due to copyists. But as Mr. Moreland himself points out in another connection,[4] even a careless copyist copies most figures correctly, and though it would not be quite valid to draw conclusion from a particular figure as that figure may be wrong, it would be quite valid to estimate on the figures available as a whole.

The Local Forces for Multan to Monghyr[5] comes to about 32 lakhs and odd or three millions in round numbers. It does not matter if these forces actually took part in any campaign. It indicates the number of troops which the government of the day thought the province could furnish if occasion arose. For instance, the subah of Ajmere was expected to furnish 86,500 cavalry and 3,47,000 foot, and Jehangir writes in his memoirs that "From this subah (Ajmere) in times of war 86,500 horse and 3,47,000 Rajput foot are provided".[6] So it means that these nine subahs whose population on the basis of extent of cultivation, Mr. Moreland estimated at about 40 millions, could furnish an army of 3 millions if occasion arose. It means that Akbar's recruiting organisation was so perfect that nearly one in eight of the population could take up arms in times of danger. Scharnhorsts estimates that every fifteenth soul of the population could take up arms in defence against a foreign invasion.[7]

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[4] Moreland, *Agrarian System in Moslem India.*

[5]

Subah.	Infantry.	Cavalry.
Bihar	4,49,350	11,415
Allahabad	2,37,870	11,375
Oudh	1,68,250	7,640
Agra	5,77,570	50,681
Malwa	4,70,361	29,668
Delhi	2,42,310	31,490
Lahore	4,26,086	54,480
Multan	1,65,650	18,785
Ajmere	3,47,000	86,500
	29,82,447	3,02,034

Grand Total 32,84,481.

[6] Tuzuki, *Jehangiri*, Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. 1, p. 341.

[7] Goetz, *Nation in Arms*, p. 148, *op. cit.*, K. P. Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. III, p. 44.

But then it will have to be conceded that Akbar's recruiting organisation was as perfect as those of highly organised military states like modern France and Germany which, I think, was impossible for any State in the time of Akbar whether in the east or west.

So the question arises what proportion of the population could this three million soldiers represent. Mr. A. W. Gomme has clearly demonstrated[8] that the age group of males from the 20th year to 59th year is about 24 per cent. of the total population.[9] Mr. Gomme has relied on the statistics of population of different countries for this conclusion. This is generally considered as the age of military service.[10] Scharnhorsts estimates that every fifteenth soul of the population could take up arms in a defensive war which would mean 6 or 7 out of 100 or 6 or 7 out of 24 of the age group from 20 to 59. Germany and France before the Great War had so organised that they estimated they could mobilise 1 out of 32 in the case of Germany and 1 out of 31 in the case of France which would be about 3 per cent. of the population or 3 out of 24 of the military age group. Had Akbar's military organisation been as perfect as that of pre-war Germany or France, the 3 million soldiers would represent 3 out of 24 or $\frac{1}{8}$ of the 20–59 age group, or 24 millions which in its turn would represent about 24 per cent. of the total population. The population would be more if the efficiency of organisation was less. However we may come to the conclusion that the population of the nine subahs would be $100/24 \times 24$ millions or 100 millions which is a fair estimate. Two populous regions are left out, *viz.*, Gujerat and Bengal. Mr. Moreland gives a population of about 40 millions for these regions.[11] Besides regions like Bundelkhand, Kashmir, the Himalayan tracts are left out. So we arrive at the

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[8] See Appendix A at the end.

[9] *Population of Athens in the 5th and 4th cent. B.C.*, Glasgow University Publication XXVIII.

[10] In the mediæval *Sukranīti* the years from 20 to 60 are considered as middle age. See *Sukranīti*, translated by B. R. Sarkar, p. 231.

[11] Moreland, *ibid.*, p. 22.

conclusion that Akbar's Empire could not have contained a population of less than 150 millions excluding the Kabul regions.

It may be objected that these local forces are not *effective* strength but estimated strength; that is every one of the relevant age living. If that were so, 3 million soldiers would mean a total population of about 12½ millions. But since density of cultivation gives a population of 40 millions we will have to take this local force as *effective.*

The density of cultivation suggests a population of 40 millions for the nine subahs whereas the provincial forces of these subahs suggest a population of at least 100 millions. This at first looks like an anomaly which will have to be explained. This discrepancy can be explained only by the existence of a very large urban population and consequently a large number of flourishing towns and cities, centres of various industries, both useful and artistic. The historian, Nizamudin Ahmad, writes for instance: "At the present time, namely, 1002 A.H., Hindusthan contains 3,200 towns and upon each town there are dependent, 200, 500, 1,000 and 1,500 towns. Of the towns 120 are large cities.

"As the particulars of the towns are not included in this summary a detailed list of the towns shall be drawn up in the alphabetical order."[12]

So according to this historian, the Empire contained 3,200 towns and 120 of them were considered large cities. He was writing this about 1002 A.H. Nizamudin has not given us the promised list of the cities of the Empire which is rather unfortunate. However this omission of Nizamudin is remedied to a certain extent by a contemporary inscription in a cave at Kandahar which gives a list of the cities of Akbar's Empire which is dated 1002 A.H., the very year in which Nizamndin wrote the above passage. It is inscribed there that "the Empire's length is from the bounds of Sarandip and Udisah and Bandar Goraghat and Gaur Bangala to Thatta, Bandar

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[12] *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Elliot, Nizam, Vol. IV, p. 186.

Lahori and Hurmuz which is nearly a two years' journey and its width from Kabul and Kashmir to the bounds of Dakan and Barar about a year and half's journey." Then the inscription gives the list of cities which runs as follows :—

Adisa-jagnat, Satgauv, Çatgauv, Bardwan, Sulaimanabad, Sunarkam, Goraghat, Shirpur, Miraca, Parinia, Tajpur, Gor-Bengala, Tanda, (R)agmahal, Mungir, Bahar, Tirhut, Hajipur, Biyat, Rah Tal (?) Sahasram, Causa, Ghazipur, Cunar, Banaras, Jaunpore, Kar (?) Manikpur, Kalpi, Kalinjar, Atava, Qanoj, Lakno, Od, Baraiç, Sambal, Amroha, Badaon, Koil-Jalali, Shamsabad, Agra, Gualior, Birwanj, Canderi, Raisin, Sarangpur, Ujjain, Malwa-Mandu Handya, Barar, Asir-u-Burhanpore, Talarbar, Surat, Broj, Barada, Mahomedabad, Kambayat, Din-Junagadh, Nawanagar-Jam, Kaç-Kangar, Ahmedabad, Edar, Pattan-Baharwalla, Jalor, Sirohi, Mirta, Jodpur, Jaisalmere, Nakor, Narnol, Ajmir, Ranthambor, Lambalmere, Citer, Biyana, Fathpore, Muttra, Delhi, Panipat, Mahim, Niçar-Firoza Tanisar, Sarhind, Tajara, Sultanpur, Jalandhar Lahor, Kalanor, Nagarkot, Rahtas, Atak, Jamu, Jalalabad, Bhira, Ghaznin, Shar Patan, Sheikh Farid Multan, Dodai, Uç, Bakar, Sahwan, Omarkot, Tatta.[13] 104 cities are mentioned. It is rather strange that Srinagar, the City of Kashmir as it was then known, Kabul and a few other cities like Sirouj have been omitted.

The Portuguese historian, Faria-y-Sousa, writing in the middle of the 17th century, agrees with the Mughal historian that the Empire of Delhi was noted for its cities. He writes, "The heathens say that God granted these particular prerogatives or blessings to five kingdoms—to that of Bengala infinite number of foot; to Orexa elephants; to Bisnagar people skilled in sword and buckler, to Delhi abundance of towns and to Con innumerable number of horses."[14]

We may safely say that the government and people of Akbar's days considered these cities as the greatest cities of the Empire.

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[13] La grande inscription du Kandahar, *Journal Asiatique*, Tome XV, 1890, Feb.-March, pp. 195-230, James Darmesteter.

[14] Stevens' translation of *Portuguese Asia*, p. 415.

It may be argued that Indian writers had no standard of comparison and that these cities which they considered the greatest of the Empire may have been only overgrown towns. But European travellers when they describe Indian cities of the 16th and 17th centuries compare them with the greatest European cities of those times—Constantinople, Paris and London; and when estimates of population of these cities made by eminent scholars are available, we can form an idea of the population of an Indian city of Mughal times.

"We should not expect," observes Mr. Moreland, "a modern traveller unprovided with statistical information to discriminate between the great Cities of Northern India: to him Lahore and Delhi, Agra and Lucknow would all appear to be of the same size. On the other hand, a man of ordinary intelligence could hardly fail to observe that all of them are much inferior in population to Calcutta or Bombay and larger than places like Saharanpur or Jullundur and we may fairly allow to early travellers a corresponding exactitude of discrimination."[15] The same esteemed writer brings in the evidence of the traveller Thevenot and concludes that "if the population of Delhi amounted to 4,00,000 when the Emperor was present, it might be less than $\frac{1}{6}$ of that number when the Emperor was elsewhere".[16] At any rate he has been unable to find any reasonable grounds for inferring that "any city in India had a resident population of as many as half a million".[17]

It is true that when the Court was present, then the population of the City would be more than doubled. But travellers describe and compare Indian cities with the greatest European cities not when the Court was present but when the Court was away.

Monsserrate writes of Lahore sometime in 1582, "This city is second to none either in Asia or Europe with regard to size, population and wealth. It is overcrowded with merchants who foregather from all over Asia. In all these respects it

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15 Moreland, *ibid.*, p. 13.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

excels other cities.... The population is so large that men jostle each other in the streets."[18]

Coryat visited Lahore a quarter of a century later than Father Monsserrate. He visited the city not when the Court was present, but when the Court was away at Ajmere which he visited afterwards and delivered an oration in Persian before the Emperor Jahangir and received a gift of a hundred Rupees from the Emperor for his pains. He writes, "The goodly city of Lahore in India is one of the largest cities of the whole universe, for it containeth at the least sixteen miles in compass and exceedeth Constantinople itself in greatness"[19] and of Agra as a "very great city but in every respect much inferior to Lahore".[20]

Coryat visited Constantinople in 1612 and has left a description of the city which enables us to judge what Lahore was which Coryat visited two or three years afterwards. He says, "In Constantinople and Para and Galata there are 5,750 parishes of the Turks; Turkish muskies, great and little, 770; Karabassaries or Xenodochia 418; Public fountains or wells 650; private 498; ovens or bake houses 383; Christian churches 150; synagogues 36; a hundred thousand houses and among them five thousand shops."[21]

These details are convincing, "a hundred thousand houses" means at least half a million population possibly more. George Sandys who also visited Constantinople writes that "Constantinople is said to contain seven hundred thousand people" confirming Coryat. Sandys visited Turkey in 1610.[22]

Lahore looked bigger to Coryat's experienced eye and when he saw Lahore, Jahangir was away at Ajmere. It could never have contained a lesser population than 7,00,000 which was the population of Constantinople. Are we not justified in concluding that Lahore contained at least a million resident population?

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[18] Monsserrate, *Commentaries*, p. 159.

[19-20] *Purchas*, Vol. 470.

[21] *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 440.

[22] *Purchas*, Vol. VIII, p. 163.

Fitch visited the twin cities of Agra and Fathpore in 1585. He was just in time as the Court left Fathpore a few weeks after Fitch saw them. Fitch says that each of them individually was bigger than contemporary London. "Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatepore are twelve miles and all the way is a market for victuals and other things as full as though a man were still in town and so many people as if a man were in a market."[23] Coryat says Agra was very great but smaller than Lahore. Jourdain who visited Agra about the same time speaks of it as " one of the biggest in the world. It is by report far greater than grand Cairo"[24] and Cairo was "much bigger than Constantinople according to John Sanderson".[25] We should naturally expect when Fathpore was no longer the capital many people would have gone back to Agra though Salbank still speaks of Fathpore "as a flourishing city".[26] Tavernier writing in the middle of the 17th century speaks of it as a flourishing city famous for its manufacture of carpets.[27] Fathpore was not deserted as it is often asserted but its population must have declined after it had ceased to be the capital of the Empire. It seems Agra gained in population at the expense of Fathpore. But still Pelsaert complains of Agra as decayed. He writes, "The City of Agra is exceedingly large, but decayed, opened and unwalled.... There are no remarkable market places or bazars as there are in Lahore, Burhanpore, Ahmedabad or other cities....if the present King had fixed his residence as his father did the city would have become one of the wonders of the world :for the gates which Akbar built for security now stand in the middle of the city and the area of building outside them is fully three times greater in extent. The city has grown thrice the size of what it was in Akbar's

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[23] Fitch, Ed.: H. Ryley, p. 98.

[24] Jourdain, *Hac. Soc. Ed.*

[25] *Purchas,* IX.

[26] *Purchas,* III, Sect. IV, ch. 9.

[27] Tavernier, Ed.: by Ball, Vol. II, p. 3; Vol. I, p. 89.

time."[28] This was Agra when it had decayed which, according to Coryat, was "much inferior to Lahore". Pelsaert was writing his account sometime in 1627-1628.

If Lahore contained a million resident population Agra which was little inferior would have contained at least three-quarters of a million. Father Maurique who visited Agra in December 1640 twelve years after Pelsaert wrote, says that the city of Agra contained six hundred and sixty-six thousand people excluding strangers.

"The city of Agra," he writes, "is situated on a large and beautiful plain on the bank of the delightful Gemena.....The city of Agra extends in the shape of half a moon along the bank of the river......Before King Achabar the city was a poorly populated place, but when in the year 1566 Achabar transferred to it the seat of his Empire, he enlarged and embellished it to such a degree that it is to-day one of the famous towns of the east. It is two big leagues long and encompasses in its limit according to the more common opinion six hundred and sixty-six thousand inhabitants. The foreigners of whom there are a great many are not included. Ninety caramossaras and other private houses scattered through the town are full of these; hence the concourse of the people is at times so great that it is difficult one's way through the chief streets."[29] Maurique was at Agra when the "Padcha was away at the city of Laor."[30] We can understand why Agra presented a comparatively deserted appearance. When Thevenot visited the city in 1666, Agra was no longer the permanent capital of the Empire as the capital had been shifted to Delhi a decade or so earlier. Aurangazeb was living at Delhi. In the fort at Agra was the unfortunate Shah Jahan, a captive, sighing out his existence. But even Thevenot does not say it was a small city. He says the city was not so great as to furnish 2,00,000 men for the wars. That is certainly true. To furnish 2,00,000 men a city should have at least 6 millions people.

[28] Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, Moreland and Gyell.

[29.30] Maurique, "Description of Agra," *J.U.P. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I p. 111; *ibid.*, p. 112.

which is absurd. But does he mean that Agra was small? He writes, "The town of Agra is populous as a great town ought to be but not so great as to be able to send 2,00,000 fighting men into the field as some have written. The palaces and gardens take up the greatest part so that its extent is no infallible argument of the number of its inhabitants...... the truth is one may walk the streets without being crowded and meet with no throng but when the Court is there. But at that time I have been told there is a great confusion and an infinite number of people to be seen."[31] That is true. Add another quarter million to a city and the city looks crowded. I suppose this does not go against the evidence of Father Maurique.

About Delhi Thevenot remarks that the "narrow streets seem to contribute somewhat to the reputation of the capital city seeing there is an extraordinary crowd while the Court is there." He adds that he has been told that it "looks like a desert when the king is absent".[32] But Delhi, we ought to remember, was a comparatively new and growing city when Thevenot visited it. To speak of Delhi as new looks like a paradox but by Delhi one ought to understand Shah Jahan's city, the "Jahanbad" of the travellers. But still Bernier pays a compliment and compares it to contemporary Paris. Father Monsserrate gives a description of the old Delhi. He writes, "Delinum is inhabited by a substantial and wealthy Brachmanæ and of course by a Mogul garrison. Hence its many fine private mansions add considerably to the magnificence of the city....The rich men construct for themselves well-built lofty handsomely decorated houses. Thanks to Emaumus (Humayun) who was devoted to architecture and loved fine buildings and broad roads, the streets of the city are more imposing and impressive than in other Musalman towns. They are planted down the middle with beautiful green trees which cast a grateful shade. Time fails me to describe the

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[31] Thevenot, *Voyages*, Part III, p. 35.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

lovely parks and the many residential districts on both sides of the Jomanis and the land around this old Delhi was full of 'ruined towers and fallen walls' the ruins of still older Delhi."[33]

English travellers when they talked of a great city, thought of their "London", the only great city of England of those times. Joan Parkes writes that "London with its adjunct Westminster was indeed a great city of about 5,00,000 people concentrated within the area covered by the bills of mortality"[34] while the population of London in 1700 A.D. is estimated at 6,74,000.[35] The only other towns in England which could be called cities at this time were Norwich and Bristol or Bristow with a population of about 28,000.[36] So we may safely say that when English travellers of the 17th century speak of a city it numbered a population of about 30 or 40 thousand. This can be seen in Eldred's comparison of Tripolis in Syria "a city about the bigness of Bristow". Eldred left with Ralph Fitch in 1583.[37] When English travellers talk of a great city they obviously are comparing with London, a city of half a million at this period. With this preliminary explanation, we may follow Jourdain in his travel from Surat to Agra and then back from Agra to Ahmedabad *via* Ajmere.

Jourdain describes Nanderbar as a strong city, Burhanpore as a very great city, Sirouj a great city, Gualior a pretty-walled city, Narwar a great-walled city, Agra one of the biggest cities in the world, Fathpore a great city (it was no longer the capital), Ajmere a city, Merta a pretty town which, according to Peter Mundy, was "reasonably big very well peopled although of no great traffic or commerce",[38] Ahmadabad fairest city in all Indies, Cambay one of the best

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33 Monsserrate, *Commentaries*, pp. 97-98.

34 *Travel in England in the 17th Century*, Oxford University Press.

35 *London in the 18th Century* by M. Dorothy George, History of Civilization Series, p. 25.

36 Joan Parkes, *Travel in England in the 17th Century.*

37 *First Englishmen in India*, Broadway Travellers Series, p. 35.

38 Mundy, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 246.

cities in all India, Mandu was in ruins according to Jourdain, Chitor was uninhabited when Roe saw it with "the ruins of 100,000 houses of stone".[39] Jourdain counted seven great towns from Surat to Agra. All these cities are mentioned in the inscription at Kandahar.

We can understand why India contained then so many towns and cities if we remember that it was entirely a self-sufficing unit and manufactured whatever she required at home. Imports were practically restricted to bullion which were necessary for coinage and artware, horses for the army, and rare toys and curios for the nobility. India not only clothed herself but exported textiles to most parts of Asia. The home market itself was sufficient to keep busy in the absence of machinery, many a hundred thousand weavers throughout the year. Besides they had to satisfy the foreign markets as well. Progressive ruralisations and pressure on land came in when the national industry produced.

So we come to the conclusion that Akbar's Empire contained a population of about 150 millions. This was subjected to natural checks, as famines, epidemics and war. Mogol India was not free from these scourges which must have reduced the population considerably. But we should remember that these calamities, though they reduce the number temporarily, will not have any permanent effect on the population of a country. A distinguished writer writes, "Paradoxical as it may seem neither voluntary restriction of births nor famine nor pestilence has much effect in reducing the numbers ......Famine and pestilence are followed at once by an increased number of births........War resembles plague in its action upon population. When as in the late war nearly the whole of able-bodied men are on active service, the loss of population caused by the cessation of births is greater than all the fatal casualties of the battle. A rough calculation gives the result that 12 million lives have been lost to the belligerent nations by the separation of husbands and wives.

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[39] Roe, *Embassy*, Vol. II, p. 540.

......These losses added to the 8 millions or so who have been killed would be made good in a few years.......In a short time as far as numbers are concerned the war is as if it had never been."[40]

The Dean has shown that these checks have not much effect in reducing the numbers. As for Indian warfare even the loss caused by the separation of husbands from their wives would not occur as the soldier's wife invariably followed her husband to the battlefield. It was not an unusual sight as Mannucci says, to see a soldier carrying his baby in his arms and his wife following with the musket in her hand with the serviceable ladle stuck up in the place meant for the bayonet. When such was the case it is rather hard to understand Mr. Moreland's estimate of the population of India at the end of the sixteenth century at 100 millions[41] and at about 120 to 125 millions at the end of Shah Jahan's reign.[42] Deducting 30 or 40 millions for the far south and Deccan States Mr. Moreland's estimate for Mogol or Northern India ranges between 70 to 80 or 85 millions, which is certainly an under-estimate. 150 to 180 millions would be a reasonable estimate for Northern India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Appendix A

The following table is taken from Mr. A. W. Gomme's book "Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C." which shows that the age group of males from 20–59 to total population ranges from 24 to 25 per cent. I have added the figures for the Panjab and the United Provinces from the Census of 1911 as these are the regions in which Akbar's regulation or Zabti system of assessment prevailed.

I am not quite sure of the accuracy of my calculation for U. P. and the Panjab, except that under the last column. For general purposes it may be taken as accurate.

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40 Dean Inge "Outspoken Essays", First Series, pp. 96-97, *Essay on Future of the English Race.*

41 Moreland, Vol. I.

42 Moreland, Vol. II, Note, p. 302.

Country	Percentage of age group to whole population [20·59]		Age Group 20—59		Total Population		Approximate percentage of Males to Total Pop. 18·59
	Year		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
England and Wales	1871	46·8	22·4	23·3	48·7	51·3	24·2
	1881	46·4	22·2	24·2	48·7	51·3	24·0
	1891	47·3	22·2	25·1	48·5	51·5	24·1
	1901	50·2	23·9	26·3	48·4	51·6	25·8
	1911	52·0	24·8	27·2	48·4	51·6	26·6
Germany	1910	48·7	24·0	24·7	49·3	50·7	25·8
Belgium	1910	50·0	25·3	25·6	49·6	50·4	27·1
Bulgaria	1910	42·2	21·5	20·7	50·9	49·1	23·4
Denmark	1910	47·1	22·4	24·7	48·5	51·5	24·1
Spain	1910	47·6	22·8	24·8	48·6	51·4	24·6
France	1911	52·5	25·4	27·1	49·1	50·9	27·0
Greece	1920	46·3	22·4	23·9	49·7	50·3	24·2
Italy	1911	46·2	22·2	24·0	49·1	50·9	24·2
Holland	1909	47	23·1	23·9	49·5	50·5	24·9
Portugal	1911	46·4	21·1	25·3	47·5	52·5	22·8
U.P. of Agra and Oudh	1911	49·7 ?	25·75	24 ?	52·0	48·0	25·75
The Panjab	1911	49·9 ?	25·9	24 ?	55·2	45·8	25·9

(*To be continued.*)

ŚRĪ VIDYĀ

Part III—Upasana-Krama

Section (5)—Kundalini Yoga

By K. Narayanaswami Iyar

THE following verse from *Bhramarāmbāṣṭakam* of Śrī Śankarācārya may be recited here as a fitting prayer to Dēvī as Kuṇḍalinī Śakti :—

षट्तारां गणदीपिकां शिवसतीं षड्वैरिवर्गापहां
षट्चक्रान्तरसंस्थितां वरसुधां षड्योगिनीवेष्टिताम् ।
षट्चक्राञ्चितपादुकाञ्चितपदां षड्भावगां षोडशीं
श्रीशैलस्थलवासिनीं भगवतीं श्रीमातरं भावये ॥

as also the following from *Sakalajananī Stōtra* of Kāḷidāsa :—

चतुष्पत्रान्तः षड्दळपुटभगान्तः त्रिवलयः
स्फुरद्विद्युद्वह्निमाणि नियताभद्युतिलते ।
षडश्रं भित्वाऽऽदौ दशदळमथ द्वादशदळं
कळाश्रं च द्व्यश्रं गतवति नमस्ते गिरिसुते ॥

1. Introduction

Dēvī in Brahmāṇḍa has her subtle counterpart in Piṇḍāṇḍa as Kuṇḍalinī. She is so called as her pīṭha has the triangle form, its three sides representing the three śaktis of Icchā, Jnāna and Kriyā.

Kuṇḍalinī Yōga is effected by Ṣaṭcakrabhēda—a method of involution by which the citta vṛttis are controlled. There are various ways of arousing the Kuṇḍalinī. The Haṭha-Yōgins have recourse to ṣaṭkriyas as well as āsanas, bandhas and mudras; the Rāja-Yōgins follow the aṣṭānga mārga of Patanjali and the Jnāna-Yōgins perceive the Jīvātma in it and lead it on to its identity with Paramātman. But Śrī Vidyā upāsakas follow Mantra-Yōga and seek the aid of the Śabda-brahman for the purpose. According to Kāmakalā, the Kuṇḍalinī is divided into three khaṇḍas : (*a*) the Vahni khaṇḍa having daśa kalās, comprising the Mūlādhāra and Svādhiṣṭhā-na cakras and constituting Rudragranthi; (*b*) the Sūrya

khaṇḍa having dvādaśa kalās, comprising Maṇipūra and Anāhata cakras and constituting Viṣnugranthi ; and (c) the Candra khaṇḍa having ṣōḍaśa kalās, comprising Viśuddha and Ājnā chakras and constituting Brahmagranthi. The three Vēdas—Ṛg, Yajus and Sāma ; the three Vyāhṛtis—Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ, Suvaḥ ; and the Bīja letters अ, उ, म composing the praṇava (ओं) are said to represent the three khaṇḍas as do the three stages of Śabda-brahman—Parā, Paśyantī and Madhyamā and the three states of waking, svapna and suṣupti. The fifty letters of the alphabet are said to be in the six cakras of the body and these letters multiplied by twenty are said to be in sahasrāra. The sādhaka, therefore, uses mantras composed of the letters pertaining to a cakra to stimulate or inhibit that particular cakra and to control the citta vṛttis governed by that cakra. That letters play an important part with tattvas is clear from the sṛṣṭi-krama where both letters and tattvas are produced together, the tattvas coming from the prakāśa aspect and the letters from the vimarśa aspect. For instance, first came śakti and ह ; thence five-fold ākāśa (व्योम) and क ; therefrom four-fold Vāyu and र (rēpha) ; thence three-fold Agni and स ; therefrom two-fold Jala and ल ; and from it the single-fold earth.

The mantra is taken to different cakras by breath which is a manifestation of the Cosmic Rhythm by which the whole Universe moves and according to which it appears and disappears. Vāyu, as universal vital activity, manifests itself as prāṇa on entry into each body and shows itself in ten different ways or does ten different functions, five of them being mahā-prāṇas (prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna and samāna) and five others, upa-prāṇas. The cakras, being centres of prāṇa, are stimulated or inhibited by the mantras and the vṛttis governed by these cakras are, in their turn, controlled by the action of these cakras. As has been well said in Śāradā Tilaka, Śabda-brahman is the consciousness of all individuals (चैतन्यं सर्वभूतानां शब्दब्रह्मेति मे मतिः) and sound acts of its own accord (नादात्मा नदति स्वयं).

2. Nadis

It is necessary, therefore, to deal with the several passages through which breath travels—those through which the mahā-prāṇas proceeding to or from the cakras journey and those through which the upa-prāṇas move. These conduits of prāṇa are called nāḍis and yōgic nāḍis are their subtle forms. Through the latter, the solar and lunar currents run. Of such nāḍis, three are the more important, *viz.*, Iḍa, Pingaḷa and Suṣumna. By yōgabala, prāṇa is made to go through Suṣumna and, after passing the cakras, to leave the body through Brahmarandhra.

Suṣumna is in the interior of the cerebro-spinal axis called Mērudaṇḍa. It is three-stranded made, of Suṣumna, Vajra and Citriṇī comprising, so to say, the three guṇas. Suṣumna is Tāmasika, Vahnyātmika and Rakta-varṇa; Vajra is Rājasika, Sūryātmika and Dāḍimīkēśara-prabha; and Citriṇī is Sāttvika, Candrātmika and Śuklavarṇa.

Within this Tāmasic Suṣumna, there is the Rājasic Vajriṇī and within it is the Sāttvic nectar-dropping Citriṇī. The interior of the latter is called Brahma-nāḍi. The opening at the end of Citriṇī is the door of Brahma (ब्रह्मद्वार) through which Dēvī Kuṇḍalinī ascends and passes through kula-mārga. Suṣumna is said to have a thousand-petalled lotus called Kula at the top and another such lotus called Akula at the bottom. Kula is Śakti, Akula is Śiva and Union or essence of both is Kaula.

Outside Suṣumna are the pale Iḍa or Śaśi (moon) nāḍi and the red Pingaḷa or Mihira (sun) nāḍi. Iḍa is related to the left sympathetic chain stretching from left nostril to below the left kidney and Piṇgaḷa is related to the right sympathetic chain stretching from the right nostril to below the right kidney. The Iḍa which is on the left side is feminine or Śakti-rūpa and the Pingaḷa which is on the right side is masculine or Raudrātmika. They both indicate Kāla, while Suṣumna devours Kāla.

The movements of the sun and the moon in the Dēva-yāna and Pitṛ-yāna (northern and southern spheres of the heavens)

in the macrocosm have thus their counterparts in the microcosm since the sun or positive solar current travels in Pingaḷa and the moon or negative lunar current in Iḍa producing day and night, the former drying the system and the latter bedewing it. When the sun and the moon meet, there is amāvāsyā or new-moon.

Mūlādhāra, the meeting-place of these nāḍis, is called Yukta-trivēṇī in contradistinction to Mukta-trivēṇī, *i.e.*, the Ājnā cakra where these nāḍis are united again before flowing separately. Wherever these three nāḍis meet, there are many interior solar and lunar nāḍis.

The method of work of these nāḍis is as below: The Manōvahā nāḍi of which svapna nāḍi is a branch establishes a link or communication between Jīva in Sahasrāra and sensory currents in the sensorium. Likewise, Ājnā-vahā nāḍi brings down messages of Jīva from Sahasrāra to Ājnā cakra (motor tract at base of brain). Ājnā-vahā nāḍis (efferent or motor nerves) communicate motor impulses to periphery from this Ājnā cakra—centre of command. In return, afferent or sensory nerves of special senses in pairs, *viz.*, Gandha-vahā (olfactory sensory) nāḍis; Rūpa-vahā (optic) nāḍis; Śabda-vahā (auditory) nāḍis; Rasa-vahā (gustatory) nāḍis; and Sparśa-vahā (tactile) nāḍis come from the periphery (peripheral organs of special senses) to the Manas cakra (sensorium).

3. Cakras

(*a*) ṢAT-CAKRAS

There are six chief and some minor cakras. They are called padmas as they resemble the lotus, each petal being the configuration made by the position of nāḍis. Khaṇḍa, the root of all nāḍis, is situated near Mūlādhāra.

There are four phallus-shaped knots—called Svayambhu, Bāṇa, Itara and Parā lingas—which are considered as Pīṭhas and are said to be the places of citta-vṛttis (Buddhi, Manas, Ahankāra and Citta). The first three are given colours (yellow, white and red), forms (circular, triangular, etc.), and letters (16 vowels to the first; 16 consonants from क to थ to the

second and 16 consonants from थ to स to the third). But the fourth Parā linga is colourless, formless and letterless. Last is samaṣṭi, while the first three are vyaṣṭi. The lingas are in the centres of Mūlādhāra, Anāhata and Ājnā which are the places of the Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra granthis. Māyā exists at these granthis with very great force and groups of tattvas associated with fire, moon and sun converge in them.

Several vṛttis are ascribed to each of the cakras. Those of Svādhiṣṭhāna and Maṇipūra are bad; those of Anāhata are mixed; those of Lalana are mainly good and those of Sōma are wholly good. Thus one progresses as one advances from a lower to a higher cakra. The vṛttis ascribed to particular cakras depend upon the connection between the operation of the Śaktis and their tattvas at each centre.

(1) *Mūlādhāra.*—It is identified with sacro-coccygeal plexus with four branches situate 6½ inches below solar plexus (khaṇḍa) that is midway between genitals and the anus. It is called kula as in it earth tattva (ku) is absorbed (la). It is the ādhāra of Suṣumna which is the mūla of Kuṇḍalinī. It is crimson-coloured and has four petals on which are golden letters of वं, शं, षं and सं which stand for the Śaktis whose names begin with these letters, *viz.*, Varadā, Śaśinī, Ṣaṇḍā and Sarasvatī. It is of pṛthvī tattva whose colour is yellow and whose maṇḍala is quadrangular. Its Bīja mantra लं is seated on Airāvata, the vāhana of Indra, the dēvatā of the mantra. Elephant being embodiment of strength, firmness and stolidity stands for earth tattva. The dēvatā of the cakra is Brahma whose Śakti is Sarasvatī. Here is a yōnipīṭha (inverted triangle) known as Tripura with the male Śiva-linga (Svayambhu). Here is the Brahmagranthi, the first of the three granthis [L.S.* मूलाधारैकनिलया ब्रह्मग्रन्थि विभेदिनी]. Some yōgins opine that Bālā and Gaṇapati reside here. Śrī Śankarācārya describes the cakra as below in his *Soundarya Laharī*:—

* L.S.=Lalitā Sahasranāma.

तवाधारे मूले सह समययालस्यपरया
नवात्मानं मन्ये नवरसमहाताण्डवनटम् ।
उभाभ्यामेताभ्या मुदयविधिमुद्दिश्य दयया
सनाथाभ्यां जज्ञे जनकजननीमज्जगदिदम् ॥

The Dēvī is worshipped here by mantras formed of the Bīja letters in the pericarp and petals of the lotus with praṇava (ओं) or māyā bīja (ह्रीं) affixed and svāhā prefixed thereto.

She is also personified as Sākinī with four attendant Śaktis (Varadā, Śaśinī, Ṣaṇḍā and Sarasvatī) and is worshipped by reciting the following prayer from L.S. :—

मूलाधाराम्बुजारूढा पञ्चवक्त्रास्थिसंस्थिता ।
अङ्कुशादिप्रहरणा वरदादिनिषेविता ॥
मुद्गौदनासक्तचित्ता साकिन्यम्बास्वरूपिणी ॥

We meditate upon Sākinī who resides in the four-petalled Mūlādhāra, who is five-faced, three-eyed and smoke-coloured; who presides over the bones; who bears in her hands the elephant-hook, the lotus, the book and Jnāna mudra; who is attended by gentle Varadā and other śaktis; who is fond of eating mudga beans intoxicated with mead.

Mūlādhāra is said to be the place of massive pleasurable æstheria.

(2) *Svādhiṣṭhāna.*—It is identified with nābhi khaṇḍa bhānu bhuvanam or solar plexus, the great junction between Pingaḷa and Iḍa (the right and left sympathetic chains) with Suṣumna (cerebro-spinal axis). It is a six-petalled lotus; is vermilion-coloured; and has in its pericarp the Agni Bīja रं seated on a ram (vāhana of Agni) and on its petals letters of lightning lustre, *viz.*, बं, भं, मं, यं, रं, लं. It is of tējas tattva and has a triangle for its maṇḍala. Here is Red Rudra smeared with white ashes with his consort. The Dēvī is worshipped by mantras, formed of the Bīja letters in the pericarp and petals of the lotus with praṇava or māyā bīja in the beginning and svāhā at the end.

She is also worshipped as Kākinī with her six attendant śaktis—Bandhinī, Bhadrakāḷī, Mahākāyā, Yaśasvinī, Raktā, Lambōṣṭhī—with the following hymn from L.S.—

स्वाधिष्ठानाम्बुजगता चतुर्वक्त्रमनोहरा
शूलाद्यायुधसंपन्ना पीतवर्णाऽतिगर्विता ।
मेदोनिष्ठा मधुप्रीता बन्दिन्यादिसमन्विता ।
दध्यन्नासक्तहृदया काकिनीरूपधारिणी ॥

We meditate upon Kākinī who resides in the six-petalled svādhiṣṭhāna; who is four-faced and three-eyed; who is yellow-coloured; who bears in her hands the trident, noose, skull and abhaya (mudra); who is ever proud; who presides over the lymph; who is fond of mead; who is attended by Bandinī and other śaktis; who is fond of food mixed with curd and who gives desired objects.

The vṛttis ascribed to this cakra are praśraya (credulity), aviśvāsa (hatred), avajña (ignorance), mūrccha (delusion), sarvanāśa (loss of everything) and krūratā (cruelty).

(3) *Maṇipūra.*—Maṇipūra is identified with the sacral plexus concerned in excitation of sexual feelings and accompaniments. It is a ten-petalled lotus having on its petals, डं, ढं, णं, तं, थं, दं, धं, नं, पं, फं. It is of ap tattva; is white in colour and has a crescent-moon-shaped maṇḍala (अर्धेन्दुरूपलसितं). The bīja of Varuṇa वं is here seated on a makara (vāhana of Varuṇa) with a noose in the hand. Viṣṇu is the dēvatā of the cakra and the Dēvī Lakṣmī is there. Dēvī is worshipped here by mantras made of the bījas in the pericarp and petals of the lotus with praṇava or māyā bīja in the beginning and svāhā in the end.

The Dēvī is worshipped here as Lākinī attended by ten śaktis—Ḍāmarī, Ḍhaṁkāriṇī, Ṇāminī, Tāmasī, Thāminī, Dākṣāyiṇī, Dhātrīnandā, Pārvatī and Phatkāriṇī with the following prayer from L.S. :—

मणिपूराब्जनिलया वदनत्रयसंयुता ।
वज्रादिकायुधोपेता डामर्यादिपरिवृता ॥
रक्तवर्णा मांसनिष्ठा गुडान्नप्रीतमानसा ।
समस्तभक्तसुखदा लाकिन्यम्बास्वरूपिणी ॥

Let us meditate upon Lākinī who is in the ten-petalled lotus; who is three-faced and tusked; who is

red-coloured ; who bears in her hands the dart, the thunderbolt, the club and abhaya (mudra) ; who is most terrible and who is attended by Ḍāmarī and other śaktis ; who inspires the ignorant with terror ; who is fond of sweetmeat and who does good to all bhaktas.

At Maṇipūra is the Viṣṇu-granthi (L.S. मणिपूरान्तरुदिता विष्णुग्रन्थिविभेदिनी).

The vṛttis attributed to this cakra are lajjā (shyness), piśunatā (treachery), triṣṇā (desire), suṣupti (supineness), viṣāda (grief), kaṣāya (worldliness), mōha (delusion) and bhaya (fear).

(4) *Anāhata.*—Anāhata Cakra is identified with cardiac plexus of sympathetic chain with 12 branches connected with heart. It is red like a binduka flower. It is so called as śabda is produced here without exertion and is heard by yōgins. Puruṣa is said to dwell here. Here is kalpataru and beneath it maṇi-pīṭha, the jewelled altar. This is the place of Śabda-brahman as Sadāśiva and here is ओं with three guṇas. It is twelve-petalled and has on its petals vermilion-coloured letters, *viz.*, कं, खं, गं, घं, ङं, चं, छं, जं, झं, ञं, टं, ठं. It is of Vāyu-tattva ; has a six-cornered maṇḍala formed by two triangles (one of which is inverted) and is of a smoky colour. Its bīja यं is seated on a black antelope (vāhana of Vāyu) noted for its fleetness. Here is Īśa (lord of three cakras) with his consort. The Dēvī is worshipped here by mantras formed of the bījas in the pericarp and petals of the lotus with praṇava or māyā bīja affixed and svāhā prefixed to them. She is also worshipped as Rākiṇī with twelve śaktis attending her, *viz.*, Kālarātrī, Khatītā, Gāyatrī, Ghaṇṭādhāriṇī, Nānātmikā, Caṇḍā, Chhāyā, Jayā, Jhaṁkāriṇī, Jñānarūpa, Ṭaṅkahastā, Ṭhankāriṇī with the following prayer from L. S. :—

अनाहताब्जनिलया श्यामाभा वदनद्वया ।
दंष्ट्रोज्ज्वलाऽक्षमालादिधरा रुधिरसंस्थिता ॥
कालरात्र्यादि शक्त्यौघवृता स्निग्धौदनप्रिया ।
महावीरेन्द्रवरदा राकिण्यम्बास्वरूपिणी ॥

We meditate upon Rākiṇī who is in the twelve-petalled Anāhata lotus; who has two faces with protruding tusks; who is black-coloured; who bears in her hands a garland of akṣa beads; who is three-eyed; who presides over the blood; who is attended by Kālarātrī and other śaktis; who is fond of greasy food; who bestows boons on great warriors and who gives desired objects.

The Rudragranthi is in this Anāhata centre as also the golden Bāṇa linga on a yōnipīṭha. Here is also Haṁsa as Jīva.

This cakra, connected with the heart (seat of egoistical sentiments), has the vṛttis of hope, anxiety, doubt, remorse, conceit and egoism.

(5) *Viśuddha.*—Viśuddha is the kanṭha-mūla being junction of the spinal cord with medulla oblongata which by nerves like pneumogastric regulate larynx and organs of articulation. It is, therefore, called Bhāratī-sthāna. It has sixteen petals with the letters अं आं, इं ईं, उं ऊं, ऋं ॠं, ऌं ॡं, एं ऐं, ओं औं, अं and अः thereon and is smoky purple in hue. It is of ākāśa-tattva and has a circular manḍala. Its bīja हं is dressed in white and is mounted on a white elephant. Other bījas, *viz.*, फट्, वौषट्, वषट्, स्वधा, स्वाहा and नमः are all said to be in this cakra. Here is Sadāśiva in his अर्धनारीश्वर (androgyne) form in which half his body is white and the other half is gold. Dēvī is worshipped here with mantras formed of the bījas in the pericarp and petals of the lotus with praṇava or māyā bīja in the beginning and with svāhā in the end. She is also worshipped as Ḍākinī with her attendant sixteen śaktis—Amṛtā, Ākarṣiṇī, Indrāṇī, Īśānī, Umā, Ūrdhvakēśinī, Ṛddhiḥ, Rīshā, Litā, Ēkapādinī, Aiśvarī, Ōṁkāriṇī, Oushadhātmikā, Aṁbikā, Akṣarātmikā with this prayer from L. S.:—

विशुद्धचक्रनिलया रक्तवर्णा त्रिलोचना ।
खट्वाङ्गादिप्रहरणा वदनैकसमन्विता ॥
पायसान्नप्रिया त्वक्स्था पशुलोकभयङ्करी ।
अमृतादिमहाशक्तिसंवृता डाकिनीश्वरी ॥

To this cakra belong the subtle tones of music—niṣadā, riṣabhā, gāndhārā, ṣadjā, madhyamā, dhaivatā and panchamā.

Śrī Śankarācārya describes the cakra in *Soundarya Laharī* thus :—

विशुद्धौ ते शुद्धस्फटिकविशदं व्योमजनकं
शिवं सेवे देवीमपि शिवसमानव्यवसिताम् ।
ययोः कान्त्या यान्त्याः शशिकिरणसारूप्यसरणेः
विधूतान्तर्ध्वान्ता विलसति चकोरीव जगती ॥

(6) *Ājnā Cakra.*—It is the sensory-motor tract and is identified with the cerebellum (with its two lobes). Ājnā cakra consists of two petals and is situated between the eye-brows. On its petals are the letters हं and क्षं and in its pericarp is its bīja ओं representing the three guṇas. Here is Parama Śiva with his consort. Here is the Rudragranthi (L.S. आज्ञाचक्रस्था रुद्रग्रन्थिविभेदिनी) as also Itara linga shining like lightning in a śakti triangle. Its tattvas are Mahat and Prakṛti. The Dēvī is worshipped here by mantras formed of the bījas in the pericarp and petals of the lotus with praṇava or māyā bīja at the beginning and svāhā at the end. She is also worshipped as Hākinī or Siddha Kāḷī attended by two śaktis—Hamsavatī and Kṣamāvatī—with the following hymn from L.S. :—

आज्ञाचक्राब्जनिलया शुक्लवर्णा षडानना ।
मज्जासंस्था हंसवतीमुख्यशक्तिसमन्विता ॥
हरिद्रान्नैकरसिका हाकिनीरूपधारिणी ।

We meditate upon Hākinī who resides in the two-petalled Ājnā cakra ; who is white-coloured ; who is six-faced ; who holds in her hands the jnāna-mudra, beads and skull ; who presides over the marrow ; who is three-eyed ; who is attended by Hamsavatī and Kṣamāvatī ; who is fond of saffron-flavoured food and who does good to all.

The vṛttis of this cakra are śabda-jnāna (knowledge of sound), sparśa (touch), rūpa (form) as also āghrāṇaphala-labdhi (smell), rasōpabhōgya (taste), svapna (dream) with their opposites denoting sensations of sensorium.

Śrī Śankarācārya describes this cakra in his *Soundarya Laharī* as below :—

तवाज्ञाचक्रस्थं तपनशशिकोटिद्युतिधरं
परं शंभुं वन्दे परमिळितपार्श्वं पराचिता ।
यमाराध्यन् भक्त्या रविशशिशुचीनामविषये
निरालोकेऽलोके निवसति हि भालोकभुवने ॥

(*b*) MINOR CAKRAS

(1) *Manas Cakra.*—Next, in order, comes Manas cakra (sensorium) with its six lobes—five of which are special sensory for peripherally initiated sensations and one common sensory for centrally initiated sensations. The vṛttis of Manas cakra are sensations of hearing, touch, sight, smell, taste, dream and hallucination.

(2) *Lalana Cakra.*—It is a twelve-petalled lotus called Kalā cakra situate about Viśuddha at the tālumūla (root of palate). It is opposite the mūla and is the tract affecting ego-altruistic sentiments like self-regard, pride, affection, grief, regret, respect, reverence and contentment.

(3) *Sōma Cakra.*—It is a cakra of sixteen petals and is identified with a ganglion comprising centres in the middle of cerebrum above the sensorium. It is the seat of altruistic sentiments and volitional control, *viz.*, compassion, gentleness, patience, meditativeness, gravity, earnestness, resolution, determination, equanimity, etc. Here is the nirālambapura (house without support) where yōgins see radiant Īśvara and seven causal bodies which are intermediate aspects of Ādya Śakti.

(*c*) BINDUS

There are nine bindus of which eight are between the Ājnā cakra and the Brahmarandhra. They are Bindu (Indu), Rōdhinī, Nāda, Nādānta, Śakti, Vyāpinī, Samanī and Unmanī (also called Manōnmaṇī). These are above Sadāśiva tattva and below Śiva and Śakti tattva which is in Mahābindu, the ninth bindu.

(*d*) SAHASRARA

It is the thousand-petalled upper cerebrum with its lobes and convolutions, the special and highest seat of

jīva. Amṛta comes from the moon in the pericarp of this lotus. It is called Kulāmṛta as Kula is connected with Sahasrāra. On the petals are all the letters omitting ळ (क्ष according to others). These are repeated twenty times to make one thousand and are read from beginning to the end going round the lotus from right to left. In the white twelve-petalled lotus in the pericarp of Sahasrāra is the A-ka-tha triangle which surrounds the maṇi-pītha (jewelled altar) in the isle of nectar with Bindu above and Nāda below as Kāmakalā and guru of all. Above this are the Sūrya and Candra maṇḍalas and Parā Bindu. Above the moon is Mahā-vāyu and then comes Brahmarandhra with Mahāśankhinī. Here is Supreme Śiva (called svasthāna by Śaivas) and it is the place of realization. Here is Supreme Śakti, the mother of all the worlds, in Parā Bindu. Dēvī is worshipped here as Yākinī with the following prayer from L. S. :—

सहस्रदलपद्मस्था सर्ववर्णोपशोभिता ।
सर्वायुधधरा शुक्लसंस्थिता सर्वतोमुखी ।
सर्वौदनप्रीतचित्ता याकिन्यम्बा स्वरूपिणी ॥

We meditate upon the beneficent Yākinī who resides in the moon of the pericarp of the thousand-petalled lotus; who presides over the semen dhātu; who is of variegated colour; who is armed with all kinds of weapons; who has faces on all sides; who is attended by the host of Śaktis from अ to क्ष; who is fond of all kinds of food and who is devoted to Supreme Śiva.

4. Saktis and their Aspects.

Between Ājnā cakra and Sahasrāra, *i.e.*, at the seat of the kāraṇaśarīra of jīva are Varṇāvaḷirūpa viloma Śaktis descending from Unmanī to Bindu. Just as in Īśvara (macrocosm) there are seven creative śaktis from Sakala Parameśvara to Bindu, there are in jīva (microcosm) seven creative śaktis from Mūlādhāra to Bindu, both of which belong to what is called Anuloma (ordinary) order as contrasted with Viloma (reversed) order. Anuloma is Sṛṣṭi (pravṛtti) and Viloma is Praḷaya (nivṛtti). Of these seven śaktis, Bindu is

of Īśvara tattva; Rōdhinī, Nāda and Nādānta (Mahānāda) of Ṣaḍākya tattva; Vyāpinī (vyāpikī) and Samanī of Śakti tattva and Unmanī of Śiva tattva. Another difference is to be found in the aspect of śaktis. While cosmic creative śaktis are looking outward and forward (unmukhī), the śaktis above Ājnā are in yōga and look backwards towards dissolution. Īśvara of Sahasrāra is not creative aspect of Iśvara but is in the Nirvāṇa mood.

5. Rationale of Kundalini Yoga

The Kuṇḍalinī yōga is a Laya yōga, that is, the yōga of dissolution or nivṛtti or upward movement. It is a movement from gross to subtle. The order of dissolution is as below :—

(*a*) Pṛthvī (earth) tattva (of which the jñānēndriya is smell and karmēndriyas are feet) is dissolved in Gandha (smell) tanmātra in Mūlādhāra;

(*b*) Gandha tanmātra is taken up to Maṇipūra where that and Ap (water) tattva (of which the jñānēndriya is taste and karmēndriyas are hands) are dissolved in Rasa (taste) tanmātra;

(*c*) Rasa tanmātra is taken up to Svādhiṣṭhāna where that and Tējas (fire) tattva (of which the jñānēndriya is sight and karmēndriya is anus) are dissolved in Rūpa (sight) tanmātra;

(*d*) Rūpa tanmātra is then taken up to Anāhata where that and Vāyu (air) tattva (of which the jñānēndriya is touch and the karmēndriyas are genitals) are dissolved in Sparśa (touch) tanmātra;

(*e*) Sparśa tanmātra is taken up to Viśuddha where that and Ākāśa (ether) tattva (of which the jñānēndriya is hearing and the karmēndriya is mouth) are dissolved in Śabda (sound) tanmātra;

(*f*) Śabda tanmātra is taken to Ājña where that and Manas are dissolved in Mahat;

(*g*) Mahat is dissolved in Sūkṣma Prakṛti; and

(*h*) Sūkṣma Prakṛti is dissolved or united with Parā-bindu in Sahasrāra.

6. Conclusion

Of the three schools of śāktas, *viz.*, the Samayas, the Miśras and the Kaulas, the first hold that Kuṇḍalinī śakti rests at Anāhata; the second place her at Maṇipūra and the third at Mūlādhāra. Kuṇḍalinī upāsana is a mental worship *par excellence* as thereby the upāsaka is carried to higher and higher spiritual altitudes and is finally merged with the Highest Truth.

Śri Lakshmīdhara in his *Karṇāvatamsa Stuti* prays thus to Kuṇḍalinī Śakti as resting in Maṇipūra :—

भवानि श्रीहस्तैर्वहसि फणिपाशं शृणिमहो
धनुः पौण्ड्रं पौष्पं शरमथ जपस्रक्शुकवरम् ।
अथ द्वाभ्यां मुद्रामभयवरदानैकरासिके
क्वणद्वीणां द्वाभ्यामुरसि च कराभ्यां च बिभृषे ॥

CORRESPONDENCE

Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishṇukuṇḍins

In the *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 75-86, Mr. S. V. Viswanatha, M.A., has written a paper on the Vishṇukuṇḍins. I am sorry to note that the writer is not at all up-to-date. All his statements are based on old theories regarding the genealogy and chronology of the Vishṇukuṇḍin kings, the utter incredibility of which theories has long ago been proved by me. My paper on the Vishṇukuṇḍin genealogy appeared in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, March 1933, pp. 208 ff. and that on the Vishṇukuṇḍin chronology in *ibid.*, December 1933, pp. 957 ff. The subject has now been discussed in fuller details in Chapter V of my thesis, "Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan" (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVI, Calcutta University). I therefore request Mr. Viswanatha to go through this thesis of mine and also my recent paper on the Date of Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 498-502. This paper may be taken to be a supplement to my thesis half of which was already printed when some new points occurred to me.

Since all previous theories about Vishṇukuṇḍin genealogy and chronology have been questioned by me and since Mr. Viswanatha had no opportunity to refute any of my arguments, I do not think it necessary to discuss the question here in detail. I only want to know what Mr. Viswanatha or any other scholar has to say against the arguments set forth in my work.

Here however I shall note only two or three points.

The genealogy relied on by Mr. Viswanatha (*op. cit.*, p. 82) has been noticed by me at p. 88 of *Suc. Sāt. E. Dec.* It is as follows :

Mādhavavarman I
|
Devavarman
|
Mādhavavarman II : Ipur grant No. 2.
|
Vikramendravarman I
|
Indravarman : Ramatirtham grant.

Indravarman : Ramatirtham grant.
|
Vikramendravarman II : Chikkulla grant.
|
Govindavarman
|
Mādhavavarman III : Ipur No. 1 and Polamuru grants.
|
Maṇchaṇya

The supporters of this genealogy, however, do not notice that *in all the five inscriptions of the family* one king, named Mādhavavarman, has been credited with the celebration of eleven Aśvamedhas and thousand Agnishṭomas (or Kratus). According to the above genealogical tree, *all the three* Mādhavavarmans were performers of eleven Aśvamedhas and thousand Agnishṭomas (Kratus), and this supposition is preposterous. I therefore have reconstructed the genealogy as follows:

Vikramahendra (Vikramendra I ?)
|
Govinda
|
Mādhava I, performer of eleven Aśvamedhas and thousand Agnishṭomas : Ipur No. 1 and Polamuru grants

Deva	Maṇchaṇya	Vikramendra I (II ?)
Mādhava : Ipur grant No. 2.		Indra : Ramatirtham grant.
		Vikramendra II (III ?) : Chikkulla grant.

This identification necessitates a total rejection of the Vishṇukuṇḍin chronology proposed by earlier writers and supported by Mr. Viswanatha. Because Mādhava (I) of the Polamuru grant, the second king in my list, can only be about half a century earlier than Jayasiṃha I Eastern Chālukya who began to reign from *circa* 33 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.).

According to Mr. Viswanatha (*op. cit.*, p. 86), the first three kings of his list ruled between *circa* 400 and 500 A.D. This supposition is impossible in view of the fact that at least up to the middle of the fifth century, not the Vishṇukuṇḍins, but the

Śālaṅkāyanas were masters of the Andhra country. According to the evidence of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Peddavegi grant of Nandivarman II and the Kanteru grant of Skandavarman, the Śālaṅkāyana king Hastivarman who came in conflict with Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century A.D. was succeeded on the throne of Veṅgī by no less than four kings of his line the last two of whom almost certainly ruled in the first half of the fifth century (*Suc. Sāt. E. Dec.*, pp. 59-63; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 498 ff).

Vishṇukuṇḍin genealogy accepted in my works is as follows (*Suc. Sāt. E. Dec.*, p. 97) :—

Rise of the Vishṇukuṇḍin power in the 5th century A.D.

Vikramahendra (Vikramendra I ?)	*circa*	500-520	A.D.
Govinda Vikramāśraya	,,	520-535	,,
Mādhava I Janāśraya	,,	535-585	,,
Mādhava II	,,	585-615	,,
Vikramendra I (II ?)	,,	615-625	,,
Indra	,,	625-655	,,
Vikramendra II (III ?)	,,	655-670	,,

End of the dynasty somewhere in the 8th century A.D.

For the position of the Vishṇukuṇḍins after the ascendency of the Chālukyas, readers are referred to *ibid.*, Chapter V, Section 2.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

Viṣṇu

A PAPER entitled "The Name of the God Viṣṇu and the Kṛṣṇa Legend" by Prof. Jean Przyluski has been translated in *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 39-48. The celebrated philologist here tries to prove that the Prakrit variants *Viṭha*, *Viṭhū* and *Veṭha* as well as Sanskrit Viṣṇu are all of non-Aryan origin. Separating the "suffixal vowel *-a*, *-u*" from the Prakrit variants he finds the Austro-Asiatic radicals *viṭh* and *veṭh* which, he suggests, are the same as *viḍ* in *drāviḍa*, a Sanskritised form of *tamiḻ*. He also tries to draw some historical conclusions from these philological conjectures of his.

He says (p. 41), "We agree that Viṣṇu was pronounced Viṣṭṇu, but how does the group *ṣṭṇ* develop into *ṭh*, *ṭṭ*, *ṭṭh* and *dh*? In fact, Viṣṭṇu is a late resultant." *Vidhu* and *Viṣṇu* must be taken as separate words, and, I think, the other variants can be satisfactorily explained to be Vernacular forms of an Indo-Aryan *Viṣṇu*.

In Bengali, the common tendency is to pronounce Sanskrit *ṣṇ* as *ṣṭ*. As a matter of fact, all Sanskrit words with *ṣṇ* are pronounced with *ṣṭ* by the common people of Bengal. Thus *Viṣṇu* becomes *Viṣṭu*, as also in Eastern Bengal *Beṣṭo* and *Biṣṭa* or *Biṣṭo*.

Similar is the case with the common Bengali forms of the following words:

Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇa* — Bengali *Keṣṭo* (also *Kiṣṭa* and *Kæṣṭo* in Eastern Bengal).
,, *tṛṣṇā* — ,, *teṣṭā* (also *tiṣṭā* and *tæṣṭā* in Eastern Bengal).
,, *Vaiṣṇava* — ,, *Boṣṭom* (*Baiṣṭæm* in Eastern Bengal).
,, *Vaiṣṇavī* — ,, *Boṣṭumī* (*Baiṣṭæmī* in Eastern Bengal).

Sanskrit *sahiṣṇu* is pronounced *sahiṣṭu* by the common people of the Kāndī sub-division in the Murshidabad District, Bengal.

It must be noted that words used not by the unlettered but only in polished speech, have not undergone any variation of this nature.

Now, this *ṣṭ* (=*ṣṇ*) can easily be changed to *ṭh*, *ṭṭ* and *ṭṭh* by the rules of Prakrit or Vernacular pronunciation; *e.g.*, Sanskrit *dṛṣṭi* is differently used in the Prakrits as *diṭhi*, *diṭṭi* and *diṭṭhi*.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

REVIEWS

The Mahabharata—Analysis and Index

BY EDWARD P. RICE

(*Oxford University Press. Price Rs.* 5)

MR. RICE has furnished a useful analysis and index of the Mahabharata. As Mr. Barnet says in the Foreword, it is an admirable piece of careful and scholarly work intended to promote an understanding of the spirit and culture of Ancient India of which the Mahabharata is a vast repository. It is hoped that this book will furnish a much-needed key to the general reader.

ವರರುಚಿ ಮಹಾಮಂತ್ರಿ
(Vararuchi Mahamantri)

BY N. SESHADRI SHARMA, B.A.

(*Shantyasrama, Chickmagalur. Price Rs.* 2)

THE subject of this lengthy Kannada work interspersed with notes is said to belong to the period of the Nandas of Magadha and of Alexander. He was the son of Somadatta of Kausambi, the Capital of the Vatsas. He was a great Grammarian and contemporary of Panini. He was also a minister. A great deal of the contents of the work is controversial and it is even doubted whether Vararuchi was a minister. It is to be regretted that this subject has not been clearly discussed in the book under review. We trust that the author will take early advantage of a revision of his book and recast it into a readable form. Considerable matter is interspersed into the text which might well have been omitted. We hope that the life and times of Vararuchi will be placed on a firm footing without a rustle amongst the leaves which conceal the trunk.

The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa

By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

(*"Man in India" Office, Ranchi. Price Rs.* 8)

The author is well known to the readers of *The Man in India* as an ethnologist and the present work is the fifth volume of a series of monographs on the aboriginal tribes of the central hill belt of India. The Bhuiyas are among the few tribes whose different branches represent various stages of cultural evolution from the primitive to the civilized. The work is profusely illustrated; and the anthropometrical measurements will be found instructive.

ಪ್ರಭುಲಿಂಗ ಲೀಲೆಯು ಸಂಗ್ರಹ

(Prabhulingaleeleya Sangraha)

Edited by M. S. Basavalingiah, M.A., B.L.
and M. R. Srinivasamurti, B.A.

(*Mysore University Kannada Series, No.* 3. *Price As.* 12)

This work is considered an excellent poetical composition in the field of Kannada literature. In the preface is discussed the authorship of the work and the conclusion is arrived at that it is the work of Chamarasa whose date is given as 1430 A.D. agreeing with Messrs. R. Narasimhachar and E. P. Rice; and the reasoning and discussion point to that conclusion.

ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಕಾದಂಬರೀ ಸಂಗ್ರಹ

(Karnataka Kadambari Sangraha)

Edited by T. S. Venkannaiya, M.A.

(*Mysore University Kannada Series, No.* 2)

We congratulate the Mysore University authorities on their laudable endeavour in selecting the gems of Kannada literature and making them available to the general reader. It is said that the Kadambari is unique, both in its beginning and in its ending, in Kannada literature.

ಸಾಕ್ರೆಟೀಸನ ಕೊನೆಯ ದಿನಗಳು

(The Last Days of Socrates)

BY A. N. MURTI RAO, M.A.

(*Mysore University Kannada Series, No. 4. Price Re.* 1)

UNLIKE the other two, "The Last Days of Socrates" is not a compilation and edition of an existing work. In the preface the author Mr. A. N. Murti Rao gives some account of the life of Socrates, the great Greek philosopher. This Kannada translation is based on various English renderings of the trial and death of Socrates in Greek. It is eminently readable and it forms a very useful addition to a Kannada library.

Sage of Sakori

BY B. V. NARASIMHA SWAMI

(*Kesari Printing Works, Madras. Price As.* 8)

IN India a pure life attracts and one who gives up his worldly belongings and dedicates his life for securing liberation is bound to create unwittingly perhaps a shrine for himself in the affections of his countrymen. Such a one is Kasinath Govind Upasani Sastri well known as the Sage of Sakori.

Education

BY HAZRAT INAYAT KHAN

(*Æ. E. Kluwer, Deventer, Holland*)

MR. KHAN prescribes for the first year of the infant discipline, balance, concentration, ethics and relaxation all of which should be regular like the seasons in order to build a foundation for a soul to grow up most successfully. An educated mother will educate an infant calmly, quietly, tenderly, gently without showing neglect. Next, to attract a child's sympathy and attention gives it new life particularly when it stands up and walks. The inquisitive infant should not be harshly treated but must be helped and enlightened. When it gets the sense of

colour a further development will be marked. Its temperaments will have to be studied and when it becomes a baby its intense activity should be properly controlled. The baby has now become the child and imitative. Love, goodness, religion, belief, self-respect may be developed. At five or six, the child is restless, obstinate, too active and less responsible and thereafter a new life begins. Mr. Khan considers that each child should be kept at home till nine and educated there. It is rather difficult to reconcile oneself to this view with modern conditions though the author does not seem to be unaware of it. Children should be taught without appearing *to teach*. Mr. Khan continues in the same way in an *a priori* manner and we are afraid it is difficult to follow his advice in actual practice.

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1. Archæology in Gwalior

2. Guide to the Archæological Museum at Gwalior

BY M. B. GARDE, B.A.

(*Department of Archæology, Gwalior State*)

THE archæological remains of this State cover a period of over 2,000 years and the Department of Archæology has been working since 1913 and the books contain very valuable information of archæological interest in the State. The earliest Hindu monument is a Garuda pillar at the temple of Vasudeva at Besnagar with an interesting Vaishnava inscription set up by Heliadorus who called himself a Bhagavata thus appearing to have been a convert to Hinduism. This inscription belongs to 150 B.C. *circa*. The coins collected cover periods of Indian history beginning from 400 B.C. The museum of antiquities contains twenty-six rooms and an illustrated guide furnishes detailed information. A directory of important places of archæological interest in the Gwalior State is included in '*Archæology in Gwalior*'.

The Art of Kathakali

BY R. VASUDEVA PODUVAL

(*Department of Archæology, Travancore State. Price As.* 8)

THE art of Pantomime is a peculiar Kerala institution and reflects the martial characteristics of its people. The main feature is a highly specialised variety of hand poses and gestures of the body and limbs combined with music and dancing. The hand poses or mudras in Hindu art have a special significance according to the purpose intended. In the illustration facing page 6, these poses according to the several schools are given. This pamphlet will be found instructive particularly to readers unaccustomed to the conditions in Kerala.

Travancore Archæological Report for 1108 M.E.

THE Report contains a table showing the Vattelettu script in different periods—from 770 to 1770 A.D. Of the copper coins collected some belong to Mysore.

Kerala Theatre

BY K. R. PISHAROTI, M.A.

(*Annamalai University*)

MR. PISHAROTI refers to Kathakali among the seven varieties of Kerala dance intended for spectacular entertainment. The Kerala stage has made a substantial contribution for providing entertainment to the varied national tastes and cultural temperament of the country. Religion and a religious atmosphere form the basis of most Hindu plays and naturally, therefore, whether in the secular or religious plays woman is not an actor and man impersonates woman. Mythology invariably supplies the plot. Scenic improvements and the sartorial technique are a later addition.

Three South Indian Metal Images—A Study

BY T. B. NAYAR

(*Annamalai University*)

WE agree with the writer that it is difficult with regard to metal images except in very few cases to fix their dates in relation to the period of their discovery—particularly because they are not original images but *Utsava Murtis* or processional images of the original. Mr. Nayar, therefore, proposes to discuss dates with reference to iconographical and decorative details comparing them wherever possible with stone images of known date. These tests may be regarded safe though not conclusive since it is not difficult to imitate early specimens where unmutilated ones are still available.

Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy—1931

(*Price Rs.* 3-6-0)

THE year's inscriptions establish that early Pallava supremacy extended over the Chola country. A Chola record (No. 74, p. 44) is a grant, dated 996 A.D. It is interesting to observe the recognition of the claims of the sister's son to succession to the property of a family recognised in the absence of descendants in the male line. The record No. 207 is a joint inscription of Rajendra-Chola III and the Hoysala Ramanatha. A record No. 360 introduces one Vira-Kikkayi-Thayi who is referred to as the queen of the Hoysala king Vira Ballala III in No. 492 of 1929 and No. 593 of 1930. These show presumably the inter-relationship between the Hoysala ruler and the rising Vijayanagar Princes.

Shitab-Khan of Warangal

BY HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D.LITT.

(*Hyderabad Archæological Series, No.* 9. *Price Rs.* 3)

THE hero of the record is a man of destiny and an account of his career based on different sources will be useful for a history of Golconda. The fort of Warangal is over six centuries

old and owes its completion to the famous Kākatīya queen Rudrāmba. Shitab-Khan was a Bahmani governor of Warangal becoming later the ruler of an independent principality early in the sixteenth century. From several accounts it is probable he was a Hindu and not a Mussalman. The inscription of which a translation is given makes very instructive reading.

Journal of the Department of Letters : Calcutta University

WE heartily congratulate the authorities of the Calcutta University on the excellent publications before us, for the years 1933, 1934 and 1935. These volumes like their predecessors contain a review of valuable information on every topic with which the modern Indian would have to be up-to-date. Vol. XXIII for 1933 contains an erudite article on Indian currency, well worth a perusal. The next volume for 1934 has several articles of permanent interest—Growth and development of progressive series, Hindu terms for area, Surd in Hindu mathematics and the Hindu treatment of Fractions. In Vol. XXVI, Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar gives an account of the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan, till the period of the Chālukyas. The genealogy of the Ānandas, Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins is claimed to be original as well as the chapters relating to the chronology of the latter two dynasties.

Sri Vani Vilasa Mahasannidhana Charitam

BY M. S. BASAVALINGIAH, M.A., B.L.

(*Sri Panchacharya Electric Press, Mysore*)

THE life of the late Maharani Vani Vilasa Sannidhana, C.I., whose recent demise we all so much deplore, has been ably written in Kannada verse by the author and is appropriately inscribed to her noble and distinguished son, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. The Maharani's period of regency was marked by an all-round progress and improvement in the State, and her son succeeded and became ruler of a tractable

and contented people, belonging to a picturesque and historic principality, inheriting traditions of an administration finally established on constitutional and progressive lines.

Speeches by His Highness The Maharaja of Mysore (1902-1933)
(*Government Branch Press, Mysore*)

SINCE we last reviewed the previous publication, over six years have passed and a large number of speeches has been included in the present volume. They are all arranged, naturally, in chronological order. As he says, His Highness is "the custodian of the welfare and happiness of all my subjects, to whatever community they may belong" and has always "worked for the common good of all men". There is hardly any field of human activity or endeavour in Mysore with which His Highness has not associated himself, heart and soul. Amidst the bewildering, nay, convulsing tests to which religion and philosophy are put by new items of knowledge and discoveries, His Highness does not believe that their very foundations are being undermined. He believes, on the other hand, that philosophy is on the threshold of some great advance. For, philosophy is ever old and ever new, being remoulded time and again out of the crucible of thought of each generation as it passes. An increasing recognition of the inter-relation of the sciences, not only *inter se* but with the co-ordinated consideration of all, belongs to the domain of philosophy, and we may thus be enabled to meet the good and the true in the God of religion, the Absolute of philosophy. That our Sovereign is not an impatient idealist but a foremost and leading practical Statesman will be abundantly clear from a perusal of the pages under review. Not without reason did Lord Sankey proclaim that Mysore was a most progressive and constitutionally governed kingdom of the modern world.

Kabir and the Bhakti Movement

BY MOHAN SINGH

(*Atmaram & Sons, Lahore. Price Rs.* 2)

IT is claimed for this small, challenging brochure that it has authoritatively upset old ideas on Kabir. This Mahomedan weaver lived an ordinary uneventful life as a householder first and later as a retired saint. He imbibed the best about him and gave to the world what he had gathered in the life around him. He was a man of character, independence and conviction; simple in habits, merciful to all, extremely hospitable; frank, but genuinely fond of a retired life. He is one of a long line of great Indian personalities born from time to time, providing spiritual food to the needy. Other publications in the series are awaited.

Mubtala

BY KHAJA KHAN

(*The Hogarth Press, Mount Road, Madras. Re.* 1.)

THE author is well known for his several works and this tale of two wives is a short oriental novel, illustrating the different phases of Mussalman life in India, being a translation and abridgment of the Urdu original. "Allah has not made for any man two hearts within him" is a sentiment with which we cordially agree.

History of Kannada Language

(*Readership Lectures of the University of Mysore*)

BY R. NARASIMHACHARYA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

(*Government Branch Press, Mysore. Re.* 1)

THE author is perhaps the last word on the Kannada language and the people of the Karnataka country are very highly gratified for the publication of these lectures. We earnestly wish the book will find a place in every Kannada home.

Sumatra.

(Verlag Des Institutes Für, Völkerkunde Der Universvtät Wien, 1935.)

Mr. E. M. Loeb writes on the history and people of Sumatra while Mr. Robert Heine-Geldern deals with its archæology and art. It is an up-to-date compilation of materials available on the topics dealt with. The first three hundred pages are given to a description of the island in all its varied aspects and to the economic and social life of the people inhabiting it. Modern research has confirmed what Marsden wrote so long back as 1783 but ethnology as a science has progressed much and field work is required to complete the process.

Srivijaya in the Palembary river valley in Sumatra was colonised in the early centuries of the Christian era and was in full cultural development in the seventh century, even like Cambodia and Champa.

The author says, "the primitive Indonesia was lacking in all Sib forms of family, *i.e.*, in unilateral descent and the accompanying exogamy. In other words, the Indonesian social organisation was similar in form to that of the Negrito and Veddoid. The Sib organisation was brought from South India along with other traits of higher culture, but remained foreign to Mentawei, Engano, and the primitive Malaysians of Sumatra" (p. 17). Religious artifacts of the Bataks are similar in form and use, owing their origin, at least to Hindu influence (p. 28). Wave after wave of cultural influence swept over the island from the direction of India and left permanent landmarks. Megalithic monument making and headhunting were early traits suppressed under Hindu influence. Under Hindu culture, the Sib organisation was no longer of advantage and it underwent a transformation. The Hindu concepts of life and religion as well as their arts of husbandry overturned the old notions of life. The history of Sumatra also demonstrates that any race may gain superiority over its neighbours by maintaining its blood pure from foreign infiltration. The book is profusely illustrated. On

pp. 328–329 are summarised the different cultural strata ascertained and the Hindu-Sumatran culture is the eighth in the list dating from the second to the fourteenth century.

Vijayanagara: Origin of the City and the Empire

(*Bulletin of the Department of History and Archæology, No.* 4)

BY N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.

(*Madras University. Price Rs.* 2)

THE view of Dr. Venkata Ramanayya that the theory of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and Father Heras about the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara by Ballala III is based on very slender evidence is unconvincing. Hosapattana, one of Ballala's several capitals, was undoubtedly in the vicinity of Vijayanagara, if it was not Vijayanagara itself. Epigraphical evidence, the narratives of Mahomedan chroniclers and Portuguese travellers conclusively establish their theory and Dr. Venkata Ramanayya is only reiterating his views already published in his book on Kampili and Vijayanagara. In all likelihood after the fall of Kampili and its king was taken prisoner, Harihara and Bukka sought refuge at the Hoysala court. The inscriptions of the early Vijayanagara period and the importance of Sringeri and its gurus suggest the inclusion of Hampe within the Hoysala dominions. Hampe was a part of the Hoysala Empire for more than a century preceding the foundation. It is difficult to accept the position that the successors of Ballala II lost their hold of this territory. Father Heras and Dr. Aiyangar have clearly discussed this aspect. Vijayanagara was in the Kuntala country. Cd. 2 and 3 state that Bukka was ruling from Hosapattana in the Hoysala desa. Its identification with any place near Sravanabelagola cannot be accepted. The very reasons given by Dr. Venkata Ramanayya go to confirm the original view about the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara.

It is pleasing to observe that the Sage Vidyaranya was connected with the foundation of Vijayanagara and we are

grateful to the author for supporting the views previously held about the part played by Vidyaranya in such foundation.

Harihara and his brothers were apparently in close association with Ballala III holding a subordinate position under him. Not merely was their capital called after Ballala IV but there were marital alliances between the two families. Ballala III expanded his dominions, placing his relatives as Viceroys in several parts. The disturbed condition of the South owing to internecine disputes and to the pressure of the Mahomedan invasions from the North seriously affected the tranquillity of the South Indian Kingdoms. The Yadavas and the Kakatiyas and the Kampili Raya suffered complete eclipse. Ballala himself was defeated and his capital sacked but still he was the only ruler under whose banner the South Indian Rajas could have gathered to save Hinduism from destruction. All these are discussed in detail in the volumes referred to by Dr. Venkata Ramanayya himself and as observed previously the Mahomedan chronicles support the view.

It is not possible to suggest that Harihara was entrusted with the government of the Kampili kingdom by the Mahomedans though the author would have us believe it. It was quite possible on the other hand that, thanks to the rebellion in the country, advantage was taken to have a Hindu Raja in these parts and the Sultan was unable to stem the tide of Hindu revolt.

Whether Harihara was a Mahomedan becoming a later reconvert to Hinduism and whether Bukka had a Mahomedan son are matters on which it is difficult to hazard an opinion without further evidence. The author also says that Harihara's family was not a Karnataka family. In the view of the author, Harihara was connected with the Kakatiyas. It is not possible to enter on a detailed discussion of this subject. The crest is not a certain guide and the Kakatiya seals are reversed in the Vijayanagar ones. The author confines his attention to the inscriptions in the Telugu country in discussing the administrative features. It is probable that these

features were in vogue in the Hoysala country also as admitted in footnote on page 104. It must also be observed that the early Vijayanagara kings conquered the Andhras and Kalingas.

The book is very interesting, full of references, most thought-provoking and highly instructive. The identity of Kanyanayak with Kapaya Nayaka of the Andhradesa requires further investigation. An article on this subject will be found under the Grant of Kapaya Nayaka at Prolavaram by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma in the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal*, Vol. XX, page 260.

Archæological Survey of Mysore—Annual Report, 1930
(*Government of Mysore*)

We regret with Dr. Krishna the delay in the publication of the Monograph on Halebid and the second instalment of the report on Chandravalli excavations. All literary work generally suffers eclipse unfortunately under an all-round economic depression and our grateful thanks, therefore, are due in no small degree to the Government of His Highness and to the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore for the publication of the Report under review.

As regards the Reports in arrears, may we suggest that instead of publishing them in rapid succession which might entail further delay and greater expense, the information available might be compiled and published leaving critique and comments to a later date. The public would indeed be anxious to know the vast amount of useful work which is being done by the Department of Archæology in Mysore and we are confident that an early publication of its work would be welcome everywhere.

The volume under review contains many topics of great interest and it is not possible to refer to them all. Dr. Krishna gives an account of Halebid and a sketch map of Dorasamudra. *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. VIII contains a sketch map of Dorasamudra though that may not be accurate compared with the present one. A detailed description of the temples is

given in the book to which the reader might usefully turn his attention.

Of the manuscripts referred to in Part IV, Parādara Sōdara Ramana Kathe has already been published in *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff. Hyder Nama is a Kannada work by a contemporary writer who was apparently a Hindu officer quite familiar with Hyder and intimately connected with his Government. It is needless to recount the life of Hyder Ali in these pages. His estimate as an administrator and as a man is in consonance with the views of Hyder generally held. His defects seem to be forcible capture of beautiful women, treachery, breaking of promises and teasing men without inquiry. How far these accord with facts it is difficult to say but the extent of his kingdom, the condition of trade and commerce in his country, his keen eye for administrative details, his manifold building activities and his wars ill-accord with such a character. Hyder was a ruler of whom the European powers were much afraid and they were anxious to see that Hyder did not interfere with the affairs of the Carnatic. In the British Diplomatic Instructions, 1687-1787, Vol. VII, France, edited for the Royal Historical Society, might be found certain references which go to show how much the British dreaded Hyder Ali's overtures to the French. They were anxious to prohibit intrigue between the French and Hyder Ali (p. 26 of the Introduction). The following extracts will be found useful :—

(i) We know for certain that the French East India Company has for some time corresponded with those Indian Powers that are hostile to Great Britain, particularly with Hyder Ali. (31st March 1769, p. 108.)

(ii) Any mention whatever of the French taking part in the concerns of Hyder Ali. . . . is to be absolutely discouraged and silenced. (23rd September 1782, p. 189.)

(iii) On the subject of the XVI article relative to Hyder Ali I trust the French will consent to it. In truth unless they do or by some very binding act engage to fulfil the stipulations of it, the war may continue in India.

I have in every conversation upon this subject pressed this point to the utmost, and it may really be looked upon as the test of the sincerity of France upon Indian concerns.

It has been repeatedly suggested to me that an article in which the contracting parties would invite their allies, namely the Indian Princes, to accede to the treaty, and further exhort them to retire to their own territories, would be sufficient, especially if accompanied by a memorial on our part explaining the expectations we should form of their not supporting Hyder Ali, which might be answered by another memorial in which France consents to it. But an article is so much safer, that such a method of securing the point as that above mentioned should not be resorted to but in the utmost extremity. Rather however than that the signature should fail, you may agree to a measure of this kind, which however must be so drawn up as effectually to prevent France from assisting Hyder Ali's keeping possession of these territories belonging to the Nawab of Arcot, which he has invaded, and which are absolutely confirmed to him by the Treaty of Paris. (9th January 1783, p. 222.)

(iv) On the important article No. 16, I must in general observe that the real and only object of it is to force the retreat of Hyder Ali into his own country or to leave the East India Company at liberty to act against him if he persists in keeping possession of any part of the Carnatic, which is guaranteed to the Nawab by the Treaty of Paris. An armistice therefore which should leave him in possession of any part of the Carnatic would be highly ineligible, therefore the nearer the article in the preliminaries can be made to agree with those especially which were sent over last, the greater the security of peace in that part of the world will be. I trust you will be able to have this point secured in the article itself; and if not, in the most explicit memorial on both sides that can be agreed upon. (14th January 1783, pp. 223-24.)

In dealing with the inscriptions of the year, Dr. Krishna has taken advantage of the publication of the Keregālur plates

of Madhava II who established Sangamapura in Sendrakavishaya to review the important records 336 and 88 of the Western Gangas, each with a different genealogy. There are difficulties in accepting the theory that the dynasty was only one. To hold that the dynasty of the Penugonda plates is different from that of the Keregālur plates would be based upon two assumptions: (1) that Krishnavarma of the Penugonda plates became independent of the Pallava yoke though his father and grandfather were crowned by the Pallava overlords; and (2) that the reigns of four generations of this branch equalled in length two of the Talakad branch. Hence comes the third view that there were three distinct branches of the Gangas. These views are not without their weak points. No. 36 is important in Ganga history as being the first lithic record of early times in which the Ganga genealogy is traced to the time of Sivamara and the genealogy given therein closely follows that of the Talakad Gangas found in numerous copper-plates but not the special genealogy mentioning Aryavarma and Krishnavarma as in the Penugonda and Bendiganahalli plates. No. 88 is the Kudlur plate of Madhavavarma the genealogy in which is identical with that given in the Penugonda plates. It is unfortunate that more detailed information is lacking with regard to the discovery of the copper-plates. Dr. Krishna, however, has done his best in regard to them.

We trust Dr. Krishna will be enabled to devote his full-time to archæological work for the lasting benefit of the State.

Intelligent Man's Guide to Indian Philosophy

BY MANUBHAI C. PANDYA, M.A., LL.B., B.SC.

(*D. B. Taraporewalla, Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs.* 10)

IN the book under review, the author Mr. Pandya has carried the purview of philosophy far beyond that of the popularly known Darśanas. It embraces all regions of human activity, even according to Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gangānāth Jhā who has blessed the book with a foreword. When life can be

spiritualised, there is no doubt all knowledge can be philosophised. To bring about a reconcilement between philosophy and traditional religion has been the noble effort of the author.

Tattvamuktakalapa

(*Oriental Library Publications: Sanskrit Series No.* 76. *Price Rs.* 4)

SRIMAT VENKATANATHADESIKA is the author of this book and it has a commentary called Ānandadāyinī of Nṛsimhadeva. It treats of such interesting subjects as Dravyasādhanam, Dravyātirikta, Dharmakṣepaparihāra, Triguṇaparīkṣā, etc. It would be of great help in the study of the Darśanas.

Advaitasiddhi (Part I)

(*Mysore Oriental Library Publications: Sanskrit Series No.* 75. *Price Rs.* 3–12–0)

THIS work of Madhusūdhana-sarasvati (the author of *Siddhāntabindu* and *Vedāntakalpalatikā*) is a well-known Advaita grantha intended by the author to refute the Dvaita work of Nyāyāmṛta. It is published with the commentary called Gurucandrika and has been revised by His Holiness the present Swami of Kūdli (Mahāmahopādhyāya Virūpākṣa Śāstriar).

Uttararamacaritakavya

BY K. R. PISHAROTI, M.A.

(*Price Rs.* 1–4–0)

THIS work of an unknown author richly satisfies the requirements of a kāvya. It narrates, in a simple but elegant style, the story of pregnant Sītā's exile to the forest, her life at Vālmīki's hermitage, the birth of Lava and Kuśa, their success over Rāma's army and their coronation at Ayodhya. The editor's patriotic attempts in bringing to light the work of Keraḷa authors in the field of Sanskrit literature is praiseworthy.

Some Aspects of Vayupurana

By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A.
(*University of Madras*)

This is a reprint of the contributions of Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Lecturer in Indian History, to the *Journal of the Madras University*. *Inter alia*, the author has dealt with Agastya and Greater India, Music, Sculpture and Painting, and General Historical Tradition. It is hoped that all the purāṇas will receive a critical and a more detailed elucidation at the hands of the learned author.

The Bakshali Manuscript

(*Archæological Survey of India: New Imperial Series, Vol. XLIII. Price Rs.* 7–2–0)

In this book has been rearranged the text of the manuscript which is an interesting study in mediæval mathematics. Owing to the unfortunate death of Mr. G. R. Kaye, the last proofs of this part (Part III) have been prepared for the press by Mr. K. N. Dikshit who has also made a few emendations.

Rgveda Samhita (Vol. I, Mandala I)

(*Vedic Samṣodan Maṇḍal, Tilak Mahārāṣtra University, Poona. Price Rs.* 12)

An authoritative edition of Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyanācārya has become a desideratum and the public will, therefore, gladly welcome the work under review. Mr. Rajwade, the President of the Maṇḍal, in his foreword says, "it is dangerous to follow tradition, even the tradition established by European scholars." Judged from the large number of manuscripts secured in Devanāgari, Grantha and Malayāḷam characters and the pains taken in the compilation of the work, the undertaking is bound to be a success.

The Celestial Hierarchies

(*The Shrine of Wisdom, London*)

THOUGH the work is based on passages from *Old* and *New Testaments*, it embodies the essential principles of the Neoplatonic teachings. The author, who is an acknowledged mystic, reveals the manner in which, through the ministry of the angelic hosts, the divine life is transmitted from its ultimate source to all things in accordance with the Divine Plan. The Celestial Intelligences (devas) are constituted in three triads (trimūrti of the Hindus) forming nine orders (nava vyūhas or mūla prakṛtis) whose names represent the Divine attributes (sattva, rajas and tamo guṇas and their multiples) which they manifest to all below them.

Asanas (Part I)

(*Kaivalyadhāma, Lonavla. Price Rs.* 3-4-0)

SRIMAT KUVALAYANANDA has, in this valuable handbook, given detailed description of the technique of nearly every āsana and has fully illustrated each. He has also included in the book other processes such as Viparīta Karaṇi, Yoga Mudra, Uḍḍiyāna and Nauli. Physical and therapeutic advantages of each pose have also been given. The spiritual treatment of the subject leaves much to be desired.

The Matsya Purana—A Study

(*University of Madras. Price Re.* 1)

MATSYA PURANA is a very ancient Sanskrit work being one of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. The book under review is only an amplification of a course of two lectures delivered in English by the Lecturer in Indian History, Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, wherein he has touched upon the contribution the Purāṇa has made to Hindu culture and Indian History.

Sri Mukundamala

(*Annamalai University, Sanskrit Series, No.* 1)

The Annamalai University deserves to be congratulated on its excellent attempts to publish a series of such Sanskrit works as will help to elucidate the many problems connected with the history and culture of South India. The work under review has been well-edited and its value has been enhanced by the publication of Rāghavānanda's well-known commentary (Tātparyadīpikā). The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

The Classic of Purity

(*Shrine of Wisdom, London*)

It is one of the earliest of the Taoist classics and, in this new translation, an endeavour has been made to restore many of the obscure passages to their original purity. It is a treatise on the way of Attainment through the purifying of the mind and the stilling of desires. The attainment of Tao and of Nirvāṇa are the same as also the path thereto. Of the two ways of approaching God, *Via Affirmativa* and *Via Negativa* (Saguṇa and Nirguṇa upāsanas), the work under review follows the latter.

Pravacana-sara and Tattva-dipika

(*Translated for the Jain Literature Society. Published at the University Press, Cambridge. Price* 15*s. net*)

The Pravacana-sāra is a Jaina text in Gāthā stanzas embodying the teachings of the Digambara Sect; and Tattva-dīpikā by Amṛtacandra Guru is a commentary expounding the text. The present English translation represents the Prākṛt stanzas of Kundakunda who is held in high esteem among the Jains. The book comprises three chapters entitled in the commentary as (1) Jñāna-tattva-prajñāpana, (2) Jñeya-tattva-prajñāpana and (3) Caraṇānusūcikācūlika. The first treats of the soul and its evolution, as also knowledge and its evolution; the second discusses objects, existence, substance as also syādvāda

and nyâya doctrine; and the third deals with conduct and study of scripture. The book gives a fairly authoritative account of the Digambara thought and faith.

Loka Prakasa (Vols. III & IV)

(*Sri Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabha, Kathiawad. Price Rs.* 3–8–0)

THE author Upādhyāya Śrī Vinayavijayājī is a well-known author and the reputed commentator on Kalpa-sūtra. In this book is given the Jaina view of the origin of the world made of the six dravyas, *viz.*, (1) dharmāstikāya, (2) adharmāstikāya, (3) ākāśāstikāya, (4) pudgaḷāstikāya, (5) kāla and (6) jīvadravya. Since all these materials constitute loka and as pudgaḷa gives rūpa (prakāśa) to it, the work, as treating of them, is called Lokaprakāśa.

Puspadanta-puranam of Gunavarma

EDITED BY A. VENKATA RAO AND H. SESHA IYENGAR

(*Madras University. Price Rs.* 4)

THIS work is based on three manuscripts including the one available in the Mysore Oriental Library and is a history of the ninth Tīrthankara Puṣpadanta. The editors claim for it an excellence of literary art associated with Pampa and others. The period of the author seems to be 1220 to 1230 A.D. when Ballāḷa II was ruling the Hoysala Empire. The appendices give useful information regarding the matter contained in the text.

The Mahabharata—Southern Recension

(*V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, Esplanade, Madras*)

DRONA PARVA (Vol. IX) has been compiled with the help of six manuscripts representative of the Southern recension and is divided into 170 chapters adopting the division followed in the Grantha printed text issued from Sarabhojirājapuram. The deviations in several manuscripts have also been indicated wherever they occur.

South Indian Inscriptions (Vol. VII)

(*Archæological Survey of India : New Imperial Series, Vol. LIII*)

In this volume are included the inscriptions of the Madras Epigraphical collection (Nos. 1 to 415) with a few additional inscriptions. Of the texts given, 600 are in Tamil, Grantha and Vaṭṭeluttu characters ; 27 in Telugu ; 218 in Kannada ; 5 in Nāgari and 1 in Persian. A major portion of the Tamil inscriptions belongs to the Coḷas and gives an insight into their military exploits, the details of their administration and the cultural attainments of the times. The Pāndyan epigraphs belong to later kings. Among Pallava records is a grant made by Aggalanimmati, queen of Nandivarman's father Dantivarman. One of the records of Nṛpatuṅga furnishes astronomical details working out to A.D. 867 yielding for his accession A.D. 845.

Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture

By R. D. Banerji

(*Archæological Survey of India : New Imperial Series, Vol. XLVII. Price Rs.* 49–2–0)

The Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi has collected an immense number of specimens from different parts of Bengal proper and arranged them in the Museum built by Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatiya at Rajshahi. An examination of the collection proved definitely that a certain class of writers were wrong in ascribing the conventionalised style and stylised forms of these specimens to the eighth and ninth centuries instead of to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The palæographical examination of the inscribed specimens in the Indian Museum proves further that the decline of artistic activity in eastern provinces in the ninth and tenth centuries was not parallel with the decline in the political fortunes of the Pāla kings. The vigour of expression and correctness of delineation of the ninth century is absent in the tenth. With Mahīpāla came the liberation of the eastern provinces from the yoke of the Gurjaras of Kanuj, their reunion under one sovereign and the establishment of the second empire of the Pālas. It

brought about an artistic renaissance in which northern Bengal took the leading part. The new style was a descendant of the old style of the tenth century but lacked the supreme vigour of the eighth. In the reproduction of ideal beauty of form and benign expression adhering rigidly to the canons of the Śilpaśāstras, northern Bengal specimens of the eleventh century show that sufficient latitude was given to its artists for individual capacity or genius.

With the rise of the Senas and the last attempt of the Pālas to reassert their authority over the lost provinces of the empire under Rāmapāla, Bihar and Bengal once more took the lead in the field of artistic activity.

With the fall of the stronghold of Uddaṇḍapura (modern Bihar) and the sack of the celebrated University of Nālandā in 1199 by the predatory bands of Musalman Turks under Muhamad *bin* Bhaktyār Khiljī, the history of Magadhan art came to a sudden end.

Modern stone-carving of Bengal is but a mere shadow of its former grandeur.

In the second chapter is given a complete description of sculpture recovered in the eastern provinces of Northern India; in the third, a detailed consideration of the palæographical analysis; in the fourth, a description of the special style adopted by the artists of the eastern schools of mediæval sculpture in the delineation of the life of Buddha; in the fifth and sixth, Buddhist and Hindu pantheons; in the seventh, metal casting and images; and in the eighth or last, a discussion of such specimens of temple architecture as still remains in the eastern provinces of Northern India.

The book under review will amply repay a careful study.

Amalaka

(Reprinted from the Calcutta Oriental Journal)

THE author deserves to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which he has elucidated what āmalaka really connotes in the architecture of the Indo-Aryan temples. He has shown

how Sanskrit texts do not yield any clue for its identification. Though it is mostly found surmounting the śikhara of temples, it also figures as an ornamental motif of simulated roofs and as the cushion capital of pillars. Śilpaśāstra seems to consider it more as a structural member than as an ornamental motif. He has ably reasoned out that the particular shape called āmalaka is not to be traced to the fruit of that name but to the lotus (padma) and that it has a functional purpose to discharge in the śikhara.

Sri Srngaralilatilaka Bhana

EDITED BY K. R. PISHAROTI, M.A.

(*Price As.* 10.)

THIS Bhāna produced by the boy-poet Bhāskara bears the stamp of real genius. The author seems to have received his inspiration from Kāḷidāsa and Harṣa. Bhāskara lived during the great renaissance of Keraḷa literature. The book is neatly got-up and well-printed.

Iconography of Buddha's Nativity

BY A. FOUCHER.

(*Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No.* 46. *Price Rs.* 3–6–0)

IN the opinion of the author, the first makers of Buddhist images solved the problem of the figuration of the nativity by suppressing it and, as in the case of the three other great miracles, simply substituted the symbol for the scene. Their direct heirs in Central India gradually developed it and introduced into it the image of the mother; and the appearance in Gandhāra of the little Bodhisattva issuing from his mother's hip ushers in the complete solution.

In a paper on "Śrī Lakshmī", however, Dr. Anand K. Coomaraswamy concludes that "the interpretation of the abhiṣeka composition as a representation of Māyā devī may be confidently dismissed". Whether the two bathing nāga, the

lotus flowers and the Devī figure connote the nativity of Buddha or Śrī Lakshmī is a matter which requires further elucidation.

Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report, 1928-29

THE year under review was one of steady progress in all the varied activities of archæological survey, conservation, research and epigraphy.

No less than 3,170 monuments are maintained by the Central Government alone. Excavations have been carried out at no less than eleven sites. In April 1928, a new museum at Taxila was opened to the public. The most important epigraphical discovery of the year is another recension, in the Brāhmī script, of the fourteen rock edicts of Aśoka and one of the minor rock edicts. Sir John Marshall laid down, during the year, his office of Director-General of Archæology in India which he held with distinction for twenty-seven years. And Sir Aurel Stein, who had added lustre to the records of the Archæological Survey, also retired. The Report is as interesting as it is instructive.

Exploration in Sind

(*Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No.* 48. *Price Rs.* 17–2–0)

THIS is a brief report of the exploratory survey carried out during the years 1927-28, 1929-30 and 1930-31. After his discovery of Mohenjo-daro in 1922, the late R. D. Banerji had collected information about other probable sites in Sind and supplied a list of them to the Department. The volume under review is the outcome of the explorations made in the light of this information.

The data collected enables one to make certain general observations regarding the peoples inhabiting the Indus valley and its western borderland in the Chalcolithic period (fourth and third millennia B.C.). These explorations link up the zone of the Chalcolithic civilization in Sind directly with the area surveyed by Sir Aurel Stein in Southern Baluchistan. The northern and

eastern limits of this civilization are as yet unknown but it is clear that in Sind it extended in the south-west up to the shores of the Arabian Sea. The people whose culture is surveyed lived in the valley of the Indus as well as in the highland belt stretching north to south beyond its right bank. The sites discovered within the area fall under two categories, *viz.*, places where the people actually lived and where they carried on the flint-knapping industry. Living in a flat tract, the Indus people found almost unlimited scope for agricultural pursuits. In the hilly regions, the scope for agriculture was very much limited. The people of the hills were obviously much poorer than those living in the plains of the Indus.

The country was blessed with a great rainfall as evidenced by a large number of street drains and rain water pipes discovered. The universal use of burnt brick and the representation on the seals of the tiger, the rhinoceros and the elephant induces one to the conclusion that the climate must have been moist. Observations made along the banks of Lake Manchar testify to the existence of a lake-dwelling people.

All these people used wheel-made pottery. There is a class of thin ware of buff or light red clay with purely geometric patterns. Then there is a well-baked thick ware of bright terra-cotta colour with decorations in black on polished red slip which varies between Indian red and vermilion. The sequence of the two classes of Sind pottery is a matter of great importance as with it is indirectly linked up the question of the dating of the Nal culture which is essentially different from that of Mohenjo-daro. The intrusion of alien tendencies into Sind pottery brings the important question of inter-communication between India and the western world in the Chalcolithic period. If the people themselves migrated carrying with them their own cults and traditions and their particular mode of vase-painting, it would be interesting to pursue the question as to whether the migration started from the east or the west and the exact route taken for the purpose.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology : Vol. VII, 1932
(*Kern Institute, Holland*)

THIS volume, despite economic depression and attempts to obtain support not meeting with success, maintains the high standard and tradition of the publication. The introductory portion surveys, as usual, the most important discoveries and explorations in the vast field of Indian archæology.

NOTICE

The Mythic Society having been registered as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Rule 105 of the Rules of that Society governing the privileges of Members of Associate Societies is published for information :—

Rule 105.—Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as Non-resident Members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than special General Meetings ; and in the case of any Member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary.

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer.

EDITORIAL

THE members of the Mythic Society, with the rest of His Majesty's subjects throughout the British Empire, tender to His Imperial Majesty King George V and His Majesty's Royal Consort, Queen Mary their respectful congratulations on the happy event of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of twenty-five years' illustrious reign. We fervently pray that Providence may be pleased to grant the continuance of a reign so benevolent to the people.

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On one of our Life Members, Mr. B. K. Garudachar was bestowed in the last New Year Honours with the title of "Rao Bahadur". We extend our hearty congratulations to him.

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In the *Modern Review* for April 1935, Mr. B. Subrahmanyam writes on the ornate structures of the Hoysala schools. In this connection the several monographs of the Mysore Archæological Department and its annual reports would form interesting reading with regard to the style, the evolution and the chronology of the Hoysala structures which are so called since their first christening by the late Father Tabard. The specimens are all taken in the review from the Belur temple though there are others of equal excellence to illustrate the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East.

***

Ramprasad Chanda speaks of the election of two of the early Kings of Bengal in the *Modern Review* for March 1935. Gopala Deva, founder of the Pala dynasty, was elected as King by the people themselves towards the end of the eighth century A.D. The oppressing measures of King Mahipala II provoked a political revolution and the revolutionaries elected Divya as their King in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. When villages were autonomous units there was a great political

consciousness in the country and evidently the village headman representing their people combined to elect a king. These show that even a ruler was not above law and the sovereignty of the people could find expression in times of real need.

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In the article on Hindu Colonization of the East in the *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association* for April 1935, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has referred to the part played by South India in this great movement. From the nature of the architectural remains in the Far East and a comparison of cultural influences still left in tact, there could be no doubt that South India colonised these parts in the early days as now. It has been responsible for the development of Burma and other parts of Indo-China.

***

Mr. Krishna Menon writing on the Dravidian Culture and its diffusion in the *Bulletin of the Sri Rama Varma Research Institute*, No. 3, considers that the Dravidians were in India long prior to the Aryans with an independent civilization of their own and that the Ramayana and the Mahabharata indicated the existences of prosperous independent kingdoms in South India. He considers the Edicts of Asoka, the Periplus, Ptolemy's Geography, Sinhalese traditions and Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa point in this direction. Therefore, he says that the idea of a barbarous Dravidian India before the advent of the Aryan should be given up. According to him, the Dravidian languages were comparatively older in point of time than Sanskrit, the Indian religion was a Dravidian religion, the basis of Sanskrit is Tamil or proto-Tamil and Dravidian Culture had attained a high standard of excellence on lines economic, martial and literary unaided by Aryan influences in the centuries before the birth of Christ. It is possible, no doubt, as F. J. Richards remarks, that the contribution of the South towards the history of India has not been properly or sufficiently appraised but that is different from saying that everything found everywhere in India suggests that Southern India was

the cradle of the human race and the passage ground by which the ancient progenitors of Northern and Medditeranean races proceeded to the parts of the globe which they now inhabit. Trade and maritime activity with the rest in the early centuries before Christ does not dispose of the Dravidian Problem. It is rather to be feared that the zeal to find unalloyed Dravidian influence in everything Indian and in the Hindu culture abroad has outrun its discretion. Assuming all the facts stated, the conclusion does not follow that the South was not influenced by the civilization of the Aryans.

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Of the articles published in the *Journal of Vedic Studies* (Vol. I, No. 1, January 1934) mention may be made of Gonāmika which gives an insight into the ancient cattle rites.

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The authorities of the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, are to be heartily congratulated on the successful completion of the Second Kannada Literary Festival organised by them recently. The festival lasted for eight days during which there were lectures by eminent men on the various aspects of Kannada literature, readings from poetical pieces, music demonstrations, visits to places of interest and the like. A large number of people from the mofussil attended the festival. Rajamantrapravina Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari opened the Week. A similar Week was held last year which was inaugurated by Sir Mirza M. Ismail. The organisation of such weeks year after year will not only keep the people informed of the progress in literary activity but will enable workers in the field to meet and exchange views. The encouragement received by the Parishat these two years and the success achieved, we are sure, will enable the Institute to have this as a permanent feature of their activities in the years to come.

***

We deeply regret to record the death of two of our valued members. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., retired Dewan of

Mysore, Baroda and Travancore was one of the foundation members of the Society and rendered invaluable service in the early days of this institution and continued to evince interest till recently. Dr. M. Srinivasa Rao, M.A., M.D., retired Sanitary Commissioner in Mysore was a member of the Society for a long time and was a valuable contributor to the Journal. We extend our condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

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